

THE WORLD'S HISTORY

A SURVEY OF MAN'S RECORD

EDITED BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY BY THE
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VOLUME IV

THE MEDITERRANEAN NATIONS

WITH PLATES AND MAPS



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THE MEDITERRANEAN NATIONS

THE INNER HISTORICAL CONNECTION OF THE NATIONS ON THE MEDITERRANEAN

BY EDWARD COUNT WILCZEK

REVISED BY DR. HANS F. HELMOLT

1. A CONCEPTION OF THE MEDITERRANEAN RACE DERIVED FROM A SURVEY OF THE MEDITERRANEAN NATIONS

A. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MEDITERRANEAN IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND

THE external form of the earth's surface is marked by a division into solid and liquid, land and water: and both are enclosed by a layer of fluid mass, the atmosphere. However greatly dependent the vast majority of earthly organisms are on the solid land and on the immediate influence of the atmosphere, they are equally indebted for their existence to that substance which above all others changes its aggregate condition most easily and most frequently—water. Its uninterrupted transition from the particles to mass, and back again, its measured flow between the two great reservoirs, ocean and atmosphere (evaporation and condensation), form the germ, the primal basis and support of all organic life and being.

Everything lives by water. In small things as well as in great, water forms the life-giving element, the first condition as well as the final consummation of all organic existence. For the historian, the surface of the earth composes the sum total of the world, the universe, the only and exclusive scene of fact. Of the paths of knowledge that strive to reach the goal of truth it is those of the natural sciences and of history that are chiefly trodden by the thinker. Both renounce, consciously and voluntarily, the realm of the supernatural situated outside of space and time. The historian especially chooses for himself a field of activity limited by space and time, the study of man. The individual and his organism belong to the sphere of the natural philosopher. History, on the contrary, examines the elements of a unity of a higher order, which proceeds by various gradations through the family, tribe, people, nation and race until it culminates in the conception of mankind. To study man as an inhabitant of the earth living in intercourse with his fellows, to trace the changes—physiological and ethnological, and to a greater extent, intellectual and social—which he undergoes throughout the various stages of society we have mentioned, to investigate, in short, the many-sided and ceaseless evolution of our race, is the peculiar province of history.

Goethe, in the second part of "Faust," makes the wise Thales greet the sea with splendid phrase:

From water sprang all things, and all
Are by water upheld or must fall.
Then, Ocean, grant thou for our aiding
Thine influence ever pervading.

(Trans. THEODORE MARTIN.)

Not merely the poet and artist, the friend of beauty, but also the historian, the friend of truth, may well greet with reverence the Ocean as the giver and the supporter of life.

Water is necessary for the production and support of all organisms—plants, animals, and men; and just as water is important to the individual man, so is the general mass of water, the sea, important to the general mass of human organisms—the nations, collective humanity. Its importance is not limited to the purely corporeal side of human nature. It appears in a far higher degree on the intellectual side. It influences strongly and favourably the intelligence in the individual, the social spirit in the community, and civilisation among peoples and nations. The closer the union between the habitable land and the navigated sea, the more clearly will this influence be revealed. This is particularly true of the Mediterranean, which even a Thales must have considered the epitome of the ocean. But since universal history has the task of following the origin and development of thought and civilisation, and of clearly depicting their close connection with the natural conditions of earthly events, since it must shed light on all that forms the common element in mankind, apart from diversity in bodily structure, colour of skin, language, belief, customs and feelings—since history therefore sees this to be one of her chief tasks, and not the chronological arrangement of occurrences, a historical survey of the inhabited borderlands of the Mediterranean, and of its coasts and islands, is not only especially valuable but is absolutely indispensable to the framework of our History of the World.

The importance of the Mediterranean in the history of the world rests, in the first place, on its geographical position. Although of comparatively limited extent it is enclosed by three parts of the earth which differ completely in their physical, geographical, and ethnographical character. If we picture to ourselves the "Pillars of Hercules," through which the Atlantic Ocean penetrates deep into the heart of the various countries, as closed, and the whole basin of the Mediterranean, together with its extensions (the Sea of Marmora, the Black Sea, and the Sea of Azov), as dried up, then the continent of the Old World would appear a connected whole. Without any visible division the lands would blend and form a terrestrial unit, which in consequence of its enormous expanse would exhibit as unfavourable climatic and meteorological conditions as Central Asia. But owing to this inflowing of the ocean, certain sharply defined parts have been formed, each of which is in itself large enough to constitute a clearly marked continent.

The contours of Europe, Asia, and Africa are therefore really formed and individualised by the Mediterranean, though the sharpness of the demarcation is accentuated by an arm of the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea. The eastern boundary between Europe and Asia alone remains undefined, since it lies beyond the formative and modifying influence of the Mediterranean. As a result of the sharp separation between the three continents, these physical peculiarities, together with the whole attendant train of local ~~phenomena~~ come far more prominently forward than could have been the case y been a gradual transition from land to land without the severing expanse of sea. The eastern border of Europe offers another striking proof of this. The Mediterranean determines not merely the external outline of the continents at their points of contact, but preserves for them in a most remarkable manner the peculiar stamp of their characteristics.

The effect, however, of this expanse of water is not only to separate and distinguish, but also to unify and assimilate. Above all else it extends the meteorological and climatic benefits of the ocean to the very heart of the land and gives it a share in those blessings which are denied to entirely enclosed continental tracts. Owing to the Mediterranean, the south of Europe and the west of Asia enjoy a climate as favourable both for the development of useful forms of organic life and the conditions of human existence, as is scarcely to be found in any other spot on the earth's surface, even though the present state of the north coast of Africa seems a contradiction. The present sterility of the coast of the Syrtes, or even of Syria, does not alter the fact that the Mediterranean basin shows all gradations of the typical peculiarities of the temperate zone, which is the most suitable and most beneficial to the nature of man. Notwithstanding the extraordinary difference of its separate branches, the Mediterranean basin must be regarded as a geographical whole. A sharply defined sea necessarily establishes an intimate geographical connection between the coasts it washes. Every organism is most deeply influenced by the soil from which it sprang or into which it was transplanted, and from which it derives all the essential elements of its existence. There can be no doubt that where natural conditions are favourable the effect on the physical manifestations of life, on corporeal beings that is, will also be favourable, and *vice versa*. This favourable influence has, in point of fact, been found in the basin of the Mediterranean from the earliest times. The result is that this basin appears not merely as a geographical but more as a historical whole, as a focus in which are concentrated the common efforts, conscious and unconscious, of a considerable fraction of mankind. Thus the Mediterranean supplies an excellent argument in favour of the fellowship of the entire human race.

B. THE PEOPLING OF THE COAST AND BORDER LANDS

WHEN the first rays of Clio's torch began to illuminate the Mediterranean countries, nations were already to be found differing in external appearance, mode of life, and social customs: the race character was clearly stamped on the separate groups. The coasts of the Mediterranean were, as we find in quite early times, inhabited by three distinct races, the Indo-Germanic, the Semitic, and the Berber. Roughly speaking these three groups of peoples coincide with the three continents, since the European coasts were mostly inhabited by Indo-Germans (Iberians, Celts, Pelasgians, Etrurians, Oscans, Thracians, etc.), the Asiatic coasts by Semites mostly (Israelites, Phœnicians, and Arabs), and the African coasts mostly by Berbers. There were, however, exceptions. In Asia Minor, for example, there was an Aryan and a Pre-Aryan* (Hethitic) population, and Egypt was inhabited by a people, possibly a mixed people, which cannot with certainty be assigned to one of the three main racial groups.

The oldest credible or, more strictly speaking, chronologically determinable, records—such as buildings or inscriptions—belong to the basin of the Mediterranean—that is, to Egypt; and we thus include in this basin all the countries whose rivers flow into the Mediterranean. It is not our task to solve the question whether the earliest buildings of Egypt are actually older than those of Mesopotamia, India, and the civilised countries of eastern Asia: in any case they present the oldest admissible evidence for the time of their origin; they date

* Hittites.

back to the twenty-sixth century before Christ (the Pyramids of Dahschur and Gizeh). The chronological statements of the Theban priest Manetho go still farther back. While, for example, the authentic sources of Chinese history can be traced back to the ninth century before Christ, those of Jewish history to the tenth, and even the oldest Indian Vedas scarcely to the fifteenth century, the royal registers of Manetho, confirmed by recent discoveries, go back to far more distant periods. Even if we make the necessary allowance for the fact that, in consequence of the country being divided, some of the dynasties reigned at the same time, we reach, according to the lowest computation, a period three thousand years before Christ. If we consider the fact that buildings like the great pyramid of Chufu presuppose a considerable earlier civilisation, we cannot reject the possibility of still more remote dates. In any case it is certain that, among the border countries of the Mediterranean, Egypt is the first state and Memphis the first town which history names—history, risen from the twilight of legendary gods and heroes and shedding light on facts. Egypt at the same time appears as the first country on the Mediterranean coasts whose population shows permanence of settlement and that degree of social organisation which in the life of a people marks a high advance in civilisation, namely, the capacity for state organisation, the conscious subordination of the individual to one will, which represents the community in opposition to him. It matters little whether this collective will is expressed by an individual or by a class (caste) or a universally recognised principle crystallised into a law. The most important point is the existence of the collective will and its ability to move the will of others, with full consciousness of the object, towards its own ends. In the Egyptian monarchical system this will is strongly expressed, and in combination with a strict caste system forces the people into narrow grooves of life. The appearance of a firmly organised state on the coasts of the Mediterranean at so early a date throws a strong light on the important part this sea is destined to play in the development of the whole human race. It is only remarkable that Egypt, of all countries, has little share in this development.

At a time, however, when the Egyptians had already attained a high stage of civilisation, the other nations of the Mediterranean countries were still wrapped in darkness. It is difficult to determine the exact moment when they appear on the stage of history. There are scarcely any traces left of the nomad Berbers who inhabited the northern coasts of Africa before the Phoenician immigration, for we cannot assume that under the name of the "blameless Ethiopians" of the Greek, Chaldaic, and Egyptian legends, the Berbers are meant. It is not until Punic times, when a state organisation was introduced among the Berber tribes also, that they begin to make their power felt.

The Semites appear first in history among the nomad tribes, called by the Egyptians *Hyksos*, on the Syrian coasts of Asia. Thence (about 1800 B.C.) they invaded the adjacent parts of Egypt, partially conquered them and established themselves there for a long period. Obviously in close connection with this is the immigration of *Abraham*, a nomad Semitic prince, from Chaldaea to Canaan (about 2000 B.C.), and the subsequent immigration of the Israelites to Egypt, whither they had been called by *Joseph*. The fact that precisely at that time the *Hyksos*, a kindred tribe, had seized the power in Lower Egypt, was favourable to the immigration of the Hebrews, who in a sojourn of several hundred years grew into a numerous

people and became accustomed to a settled life and agriculture. But after a national rising of the Egyptians had driven the ruling Hyksos from the land (about 1550 B.C.) the Israelites came to be considered troublesome foreigners and were cruelly oppressed, so that they at last left the land under the command of their great legislator, Moses, returned to Asia, and, after the conquest of Palestine, founded a kingdom of their own there. A kindred tribe, the Canaanites, had prepared the way for this kingdom (they had founded the town of Jebus, the later Jerusalem), but the consciousness of any kinship had been lost, and was succeeded by a feeling of hostility which led, after long wars, to the expulsion and partial extermination of the Canaanites. The inhabitants of the coast, however, the Philistines, remained for a long time a danger to the Israelites. The Phœnicians, who came into notice on the Syrian coast, form an earlier group in the migration that led the Israelites into Canaan. Realising the advantages of a seaboard and of a coast rich in timber and ore, the Phœnicians immediately betook themselves to shipbuilding, navigation, and trade, and so soon attained a supremacy in these occupations that their first appearance in history shows them bold seamen and enterprising merchants. They founded numerous cities, not merely on their own coasts, but also in Cyprus and in the islands of the Ægean Sea, and continually extended their power westward.

By far the most difficult date to fix is that of the first appearance of the Indo-Germanic tribes, who inhabit the northern border of the Mediterranean basin, i.e. South Europe, the countries on the Black Sea, and Asia Minor. They have as rich a store of legendary gods and heroes as the inhabitants of India, originating probably in events which have impressed themselves ineffaceably on the memory of later generations; yet these legends can only seldom be traced to facts and are still more seldom reconcilable with ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~epoch~~ ^{epoch} of history. At the dawn of history the Indo-Germans of the Mediterranean appear as already having attained a comparatively high degree of civilisation; they have become settled peoples, dwelling in towns and carrying on agriculture. To some extent they already possess art and the skilled trades; the metal-working of the Etruscans (Tuscans) in Upper Italy seems very old. The Pelasgians are the first to be named; yet this name does not designate a distinct people so much as the earliest epoch of civilisation in that Indo-Germanic stock, which afterwards divided into Italic and Hellenic, and, besides that, left minor branches in the Thracians and Illyrians, which, like detached boulders of ethnography, are still distinguishable (Albanians). The Pelasgians had fixed abodes from the earliest known times. Remains of their buildings are preserved in the Cyclopean walls in the district of Argolis (Tiryns and Mycenæ); they founded many towns, among which the name Larissa frequently recurs. Some slight aid to chronology is given by the mythical founding of a state on the island of Crete by Minos (circa 1400 B.C.?). With the name of Minos is connected a series of wise laws and institutions of public utility which marks the island of Crete as one of the oldest seats of a higher civilisation. Sarpedon, the brother of Minos, founded, so the legend runs, on the southern coast of Asia Minor the kingdom of the Lycians, who early distinguished themselves by their works of art (the Temple of Apollo at Patara). To the west of these lay the pirate-state of the Carians (see below, pp. 50, 66). About the same time Teucer is said to have founded the kingdom of the Dardani on the west coast of Asia Minor, whose capital became the famous

Ilion (Troy). The heroic legends of the Greeks have great historical value when stripped of their poetical dress; thus in the legend of Jason's voyage to Colchis, the expedition of the Argonauts, the record is preserved of the first naval undertakings of Greek tribes, and the exploits of Hercules, Theseus, Perseus and other heroes point to the effective work of powerful rulers in the cause of civilisation.

The western shores of the Mediterranean remained the longest shrouded in darkness. The dates at which the half-mythical aborigines, after long wars, blended with the Celts, who had immigrated in prehistoric times, and formed new nations, Celtiberians, Aquitanians, Armoricans and Gauls, cannot be approximately determined. The first historical light is thrown on the subject by the oldest settlements of the seafaring Phoenicians on the Spanish coasts (the founding of Gades or Cadiz, circa 1100 B.C.). About the same time the Phoenicians founded the colony of Utica on the north coast of Africa and thereby first reveal the southern coasts of the Mediterranean. The subsequent founding of Carthage (circa 814 B.C.) makes known incidentally the first step towards civilisation made by the autochthonous Berber states (King Iarbas of Numidia). Eventually Carthage shook herself free from the Phoenician mother country and became the centre of a powerful state. The seafaring Phoenicians were followed by seafaring Greeks of various stocks, who also planted settlements first in South Italy and Sicily, then, continually pressing further westward, in Spain (Saguntum), in Africa (Cyrene 631 B.C.), in Aquitania (Massilia or Marseilles 600 B.C.). These in turn became the centres of flourishing colonies and in combination with the Phoenician settlements played an important part in the establishment of numerous points of contact between the three chief stocks of the basin of the Mediterranean, namely, the Indo-Germanic, the Semitic, and the Berber, and furthered their fusion into a Mediterranean race. This Mediterranean race played a predominant part in the history of civilisation and influenced decisively the development of the human race. This is one result of the influence of the Mediterranean.

We find the inhabitants of most of the countries on the Mediterranean (with the exception of the Egyptians) in a state of movement which extended both over the mainland and over the wide sea. When and from what centre the impulse was given which set nation after nation into motion and kept them in motion for thousands of years and what the impelling cause of it was—these are questions which only the primitive history of the nations can, and will some day, answer. It is enough for us to know that the stream of nations kept on moving throughout prehistoric times, and to notice how the waves rolled unceasingly from East to West, and only now and again took a backward course, usually of small extent and short duration. We recognise further in the universal advance of the tide of nations from east to west that, as soon as it reaches the Mediterranean and splits into a northern and southern current, Indo-Germans are predominant in the former and Semites in the latter, while over the surface of the sea itself both press on side by side. On the northern coasts of the Mediterranean the trace of ancient migration is shown as if in geological layers; whence we can see that the intervals between the changes in the ownership of the soil were long enough for separate layers to be deposited. Over the Iberians, Armoricans and Aquitanians is imposed a stratum of Celts, and later, in consequence of their assimilation, one of Celtiberians and Gauls. Over the Pelasgians are superimposed strata of Italians and Hellenes, and

over the old peoples of the Black Sea, Scythians and Sarmatians, a stratum of Armenians, etc. Already there loom up in the distance, continually pressing forward from the East, the indistinct outlines of new families of the great Indo-Germanic race, i.e. the Germans and the Slavs, destined to play so important a part in transforming the world. We have already noticed on the southern coast of the Mediterranean Semitic peoples pushing towards the West, and at the same time recognised in the return of the Hyksos and of the Israelites to Asia an example of a returning national movement. The importance of these movements fades into the background in comparison with the immigration of the Semitic Babylonians and Assyrians to the very easterly end of the Mediterranean: after them press onward the Aryan Bactrians, Medes and Persians. In consequence of these events, which culminated in the conquest of Egypt by the Persians, Aryan life finally found a home on the eastern and southern coasts of the Mediterranean. The Semitic race, continually pressing westward, attains fresh vigour among the Carthaginians, and by conquest of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and Spain encroaches on Europe itself.

C. THE EFFECTS OF THE MIGRATIONS ON GENERAL HISTORY

HOWEVER varied may be the character of the various national movements as typified in these separate instances, one common feature marked them all. They always reached their goal on the Mediterranean. This singular fact can be quite naturally explained. The van of the great migrations which continued for thousands of years from East to West was bound to strike the Atlantic, which forbade all further advance. Since, however, the pressure of the rear guard never ceased, the vanguard, not to be driven into the ocean, had to give way laterally and in part reached the shores of the Mediterranean. Here all further progress was barred and with what result? It was impossible to force the way back against the stream of onward-pressing nations, and the knowledge of their original home had meanwhile sunk into partial or complete oblivion. They had no alternative but to establish themselves permanently and to resist as far as possible those who still pressed on. The determination to do this was strengthened by the smiling blue skies, which arch the basin of the Mediterranean, by the pleasant climate, by the natural beauty of the sea-framed landscape, its luxuriant flora, its rich fauna, its bountiful store of every necessity of life. All these combined to make the shores of the Mediterranean, especially the European shores, appear to the newcomer a desirable home for the perpetual possession of which it was worth while to fight. Besides this, the unexampled irregularity of the coast-line in the northern and eastern parts with its great number of neighbouring and easily accessible islands offered sufficient space in the future for expansion and the foundation of cities: and the sea itself afforded in its wide limits the never failing assurance of an easy livelihood. It is surprising what mighty strides forwards in civilisation are made by almost every people after the shores of the Mediterranean become its home.

Civilisation is in itself admittedly no special product of the Mediterranean alone. It had famous homes of vast antiquity in the far East, in Chaldæa, in the Highlands of Iran, in India and China; and certainly germs of Chaldaic and Iranic civilisation accompanied the Semitic and Aryan stocks on their wanderings and were not developed until they reached the Mediterranean shores. But even the development of these germs of civilisation assumes, under the local

influences of the Mediterranean (again excluding Egypt) a quite different form from that which they have in their eastern homes. In this typical peculiarity of intellectual development lies the bond of union which encircles the groups of nations in the basin of the Mediterranean and brings them into a firm and close connection, which is best expressed by designating them all as the "Mediterranean Race." We must emphasise the fact that this designation is to be understood in the historical and not in the ethnographical sense. The settlement in close succession of variously divergent but kindred peoples allows them to be easily amalgamated, and by repeated accessions promotes within these groups a more frequent change of language and of nationality. If we take Italy as an example, we perceive in the course of centuries a gradual transformation of the inhabitants without their complete expulsion or extermination. Without any violence the original settlers became differentiated into the numerous peoples of the Italian peninsula; these were united to the Romans, and from these eventually, by mixture with Lombards, Goths, Franks, Greeks, Normans and Arabs, were formed the Italians. Similar changes occurred in Spain and France, and still greater variations in the East of the Mediterranean. This readiness to transmute their nationality forms a striking contrast to the stiff and almost unalterable customs of the East-Asiatic peoples, whose development is cramped by the spirit of narrow exclusiveness, in this sense forming but barren offshoots of the universal life of civilisation. The Mediterranean nations are on the other hand in constant transformation: ceaseless contact sharpens and rouses every side of their physical and intellectual activity, and keeps it in an unbroken ferment, which leads sometimes to progress, sometimes to retrogression, but always to the active expression of powerful vitality.

Of great importance to the nations on the Mediterranean was the fact that, on their long journey from their primitive home to the shores which became their new abodes, they had gradually freed themselves of the caste system, a burden which weighs heavily on the development of primitive nations. Caste is a primitive institution peculiar to no especial race: it is found in a pure form among the Aryans of India and the Semitic-Berber Egyptians. Even among the Redskins of America caste was traceable. Wherever this institution has appeared, it has always crippled the development of a people, checked its national expansion, stunted its political growth; and while it has restricted knowledge, education, prosperity and power, and even the promotion of art and trade to privileged classes, it has proved itself a clog on the intellect and an obstacle to civilisation. Thus it was a fortunate dispensation for the Aryan and Semitic stocks, from which eventually the Mediterranean nations sprang, that during the prehistoric period of their wandering they had been forced to abandon all vestiges of any caste system they may have possessed. They appear as masses which are socially united, though severed as nations. Despite their universal barbarism they had the great advantage that their innate capacity for civilisation was not hampered by the internal check of a caste system. Every discovery, every invention, every higher intellectual intuition, perception, or innovation could redound to the benefit of the whole people, could penetrate all strata, and be discussed, judged, weighed, accepted or rejected by all. Nourished by a many-sided and fruitful mental activity, by comparison, imitation or contradiction, the existing seeds of civilisation yield a fuller development.

The peculiarity of the Mediterranean civilisation is contrasted with other civilisations and the secret of its superiority stands out most sharply in its capacity for progress under favourable circumstances; and though Mediterranean civilisation has experienced fluctuations and periods of gloom, it has always emerged with inexhaustible vitality, more vigorous than before. For manifestly it is dominated by one ideal, which is wanting to all other nations, the ideal of humanity. This consciousness of the inner unity and of the common goal of universal mankind did not indeed arise all at once on the Mediterranean. But the separate steps in this weary path may be recognised with tolerable distinctness, and they lead by the shores of the Mediterranean. Here we come across the first ideals of national feeling, out of which the conception of humanity is gradually evolved. First of all comes the dependence of the individual on the minute band of those who speak the same language and inhabit the same country as he. This relation of dependence declares the existence of an important altruistic feeling; it is the foundation of Patriotism. Patriotism is a sentiment foreign to the great nations of the East, for these had no social feeling outside that of membership in the tribe and the family: and the peculiar conditions of civilisation in the Orient (caste, tribal poems, etc.) have prevented the evolution of this sentiment into the higher one of membership in a nation, that is, into Patriotism. The small number of individuals in the peoples of the Mediterranean nations, with their countless subdivisions, and their almost universally hostile relations, furthered the impulse towards combination, since it made the individual a valuable member of the whole.

A second point is the conception, which is equally peculiar to the Mediterranean races, of the existence of personal rights, which marks out for the individual a wider sphere of action within this community: and a further result of this is the legal establishment of the social and political system. This idea is also more or less foreign to the great peoples of the East; while fostering all other forms of intellectual culture, the old oriental despotism has not allowed a distinct conception of rights to be formed, but lays down the will of the lord as the highest and only Law to which the good of the individual must be absolutely subordinated. The passive and even fatalistic character of most oriental peoples has at all times been reconciled to absolute government and the identification of the state with the person of the prince or with a ruling class. The Mediterranean nations, on the contrary, if they ever possessed this characteristic, shed it during the era of migration. And although among them, too, a despotism is no rare phenomenon, yet it has assumed a stamp quite different from the oriental form: it is no longer a natural thing, unalterable and inflexible. On the contrary we often notice among the Mediterranean nations, at an early period, an effort to extend the right of free activity from the individual to the community, to expand personal liberty into political freedom. In the striving after liberty we recognise one of the most striking characteristics of the growth of civilisation on the Mediterranean, such as is nowhere else to be found as a primordial element. National feeling, Patriotism, the conception of Rights, and the existence of political liberty were the foundations on which Humanity found it possible to rise.

2. THE PART PLAYED BY THE VARIOUS NATIONS IN THE CREATION OF THE MEDITERRANEAN SPIRIT

A. THE EGYPTIANS

IN order to show the nations of the Mediterranean to be a connected group, a Mediterranean race confined within an intellectual border, nothing is more suitable than to glance at the individual parts, and to take a few instances of the common experiences of kindred nations in the basin of the Mediterranean. If, in so doing, we consider not only the common but also the distinguishing characteristics, it can cause no surprise that the oldest division of the whole group of nations, the Egyptians, takes up a distinct position, that becomes more and more sharply differentiated as time advances. The Egyptians form the conservative branch of the race. In their ancient, indigenous civilisation, their despotic government, and their strictly organised caste system, they are the counterpart of the old civilised nations of Eastern Asia. Like them, the Egyptians cut themselves off as far as possible from the outer world and sank into a lethargic condition, from which even the fierce energy of mighty rulers, and their repeated recourse to great military operations and commercial undertakings, could rouse them only temporarily. The advantages of their geographical position on two seas were to a great extent neglected by the Egyptians, for the nation felt a dislike for the sea, which was fostered by religious teaching, and could not reconcile themselves to a seafaring life. Enlightened kings, who recognised the high importance of navigation for influence and prosperity, had to employ ~~for~~ foreigners, Phoenicians and Greeks: and at the death of such rulers the fruit of their work was lost. The people, whom the caste system kept in a political and national torpor, gradually lost their vitality, notwithstanding their great numbers, until they became the thralls of foreign conquerors. The Persians, it is true, had great difficulties in suppressing the frequent risings, occasioned by religious and national antipathy; yet the political independence of Egypt was destroyed. After the Persian supremacy the land fell into the power of Macedonia (332 B.C.) and became a part of the world-empire of Alexander the Great. After the destruction of that empire Egypt attained under the Macedonian Ptolemies (323-30 B.C.) political but not national independence, and the important part which it played at that time is entirely attributable to its Greek and Oriental inhabitants. Later times brought no national or political revival to the country. The successive rule of the Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, Mamelukes and Turks, testifies to an almost unbroken process of decay, especially in civilisation. And thus Egypt, abiding in strictest isolation, exhibits a course of development absolutely opposite to that of most other countries. From one of the highest stages of civilisation in remote antiquity it sinks gradually down to the barbarism of the present. Owing to this Egypt has exercised comparatively little influence on the rise of civilisation in the Mediterranean: only during the time of the Ptolemies, a foreign dynasty, was this influence conspicuously felt. The national civilisation of the Egyptians stands then in opposition to that of the Mediterranean peoples.

B. THE ISRAELITES

JUST as sharply distinctive as the Egyptians, but distinctive in a different way appears the people of Israel — if we may trust the picture which later Judaism drew to image its conception of the early ideals of the race. Here we have the incarnation of a lofty thought, which was destined to have a powerful influence on the spiritual development of mankind: the pure worship of God, the belief in One God, in a supreme almighty eternal Being, who is the Creator, Preserver, and First Cause of all things that are. In order to guard this belief from the polytheism of neighbouring nations, Abraham is said to have migrated with his stock from Chaldea to Canaan, in order to purify this belief from the taint of Egyptian nature-worship, Moses is supposed to have led back his nation from Egypt to Canaan, and to have given it a code of religion and morality. This code became the only pillar of Israelitic nationality, while it raised an impassable wall between this people and every other people. Proud of the exclusive possession of the belief in the One God, and with the inspiring feeling that they were the chosen people, the Israelites were dominated by a religious and national arrogance, almost unprecedented in history, and by an inexorable intolerance which culminated in remorseless cruelty. All intercourse with men of another creed was shunned as pollution; Jehovah was a jealous God, who hated the worshippers of false gods and willed their destruction. By bloody battles Canaan was wrested from the numerous tribes of kindred but mortally hated Canaanites and a Jewish kingdom established under a priestly sovereignty. The original inhabitants were expelled or exterminated. Poet-priests and seers kept alive the glowing fanaticism of the people, which, beyond its division into twelve tribes, showed no peculiar state organisation and formed a pure theocracy. But the want of a firm organisation gave their enemies once more the upper hand: the Philistines, a Canaanite race, rose against the Israelites and pressed them so hard in long wars that the ruling priesthood was compelled to place the temporal power in the hands of a capable warrior. Thus the national Jewish monarchy was founded, which under the three kings, Saul, David and Solomon, represents the brief period of political prosperity for the nation. Saul and David, brave warriors, freed Israel from their external enemies, Solomon, a great organiser, restored internal peace. Jerusalem, the capital of the kingdom, was adorned with magnificent buildings, and made, by the erection of the Temple, the centre of the national worship. At the same time the discerning statesmanship of the kings had mitigated the existing intolerance and exclusiveness, which thenceforth gave way to more peaceful relations with the outer world. A distinct tide of progress carried the nation onwards under the rule of the kings. But its prosperity is short-lived. After the death of Solomon the kingdom at once split into two parts, Judah and Israel, mutually hostile and harmful. In both of them a jealous priesthood, under the mantle of the prophets, raised a vigorous opposition against the kingly power for its lack of orthodoxy, and produced revolutions which plunged both realms into destruction. The end of the kingdom of Israel was brought about by the Assyrian king (722) who removed the majority of the inhabitants to Mesopotamia. It was not until the year 608 that the kingdom of Judah was conquered by the Egyptians. Soon

afterwards (586) the Babylonian king destroyed Jerusalem and led away the inhabitants to Mesopotamia. While Palestine became, in this manner, a province in turn of the Assyro-Babylonian and Persian empires, the Jews pined in the Babylonian captivity until the Persian king Cyrus gave them permission to return. A part of the nation actually availed itself of the permission; and thus Judæa had once more its own government under the suzerainty of Persia, which permitted the free internal development of the Jewish theocratic institutions under the government of their High Priests.

The captivity had brought the rough exclusive side of the national character once more into the foreground, had sharpened the disinclination towards everything foreign and had quickened their religious fanaticism: the power of the priesthood, checked by no political considerations, promoted this tendency. Since now, through the conquests of Alexander the Great, Syria together with the kingdom of Persia came under Macedonian supremacy and Hellenism was introduced, it was inevitable that Judaism should rise in violent antagonism to the new spirit. The Ptolemies and after them the Syrian Seleucidae tried to introduce in Palestine the language, manners and worship of the Greeks: the Israelites, henceforth called Jews, resisted to the utmost. Bitterly persecuted, many Jews, some willingly, some under compulsion, emigrated to Asia Minor, Egypt and North Africa. The Greek influence had also split up the Jews, since the Sadducees were less unfavourable to Hellenism, while the Pharisees represented the rigid national policy. The bloody revolt of the Maccabees freed Palestine from the Syrian power, made it once more independent, and actually brought into power a national dynasty, that of the Maccabees or Hasmonæans, who originally ruled as high priests and later as kings. But internal jealousies led to a civil war, during which the contending brothers called in the help of the Romans. The Romans first of all gave a king to the country, but afterwards absorbed it and annexed it to the Roman province of Syria. The Roman dominion became as hateful to the Jews as previously the Græco-Syriac rule had been. Their insurrection was, however, checked by Vespasian and his son Titus with much bloodshed, and the town of Jerusalem together with the temple destroyed (70 A.D.). In this way hundreds of thousands of Jews were carried off into captivity and scattered over the countries of the Mediterranean. A small fraction, remaining behind in their country, made in the year 133 under the leadership of Bar-Kochba a desperate effort to shake off the yoke of Rome, but was utterly crushed. Henceforth the Jews disappear from the list of independent nations. Countless small groups of them led a peculiar existence in their exile. Nowhere assimilating with the population, nowhere playing a political part as a community, always isolated, and holding fast to their creed and customs with unparalleled tenacity, they are usually regarded with disfavour and even hatred, are oppressed and often cruelly persecuted. Nevertheless they take firm root everywhere.

In so far as the Jews of antiquity offered an obstinate resistance to the loftier Hellenic and Roman life, they seem to have been enemies of progress, holding more aloof from the humanities than any other nation. On the other hand, there is evinced in their unshaken adherence to Faith and Law, in the resolution with which they endured every misfortune and disappointment in their cause, a high degree of moral elevation which is lacking in most other

races. The Jews furnish the first instance of a people which suffers persecution for the sake of its belief, that is to say for an ideal, for conscience. The distinctive feature of Judaism as contrasted with the aggressiveness of other monotheistic religions is that out of national arrogance it desired no proselytes; since through the extension of their Faith to other nations the Jews would have lost their advantage as the "chosen people." Thus the national pride of the Jews has become a national disaster. Although they opposed the thought of mankind, and drove in a parting wedge, still they became, unconsciously and unwillingly, once more a connecting link: for their dispersion over all the shores of the Mediterranean filled the countries with homogeneous parts and particles, which always remained in touch with each other and thus promoted the intellectual intercourse of the inhabitants among whom they lived. And the zeal with which the Jews on their dispersion turned to the pursuit of commerce and partly even of science, became of the highest importance for the relations of the nations within the basin of the Mediterranean, and showed itself in the result to be often a strong bond of union. Finally, Christianity which sprang from the soil of Judaism, and whose birth nearly coincides with the dispersion of the Jews, found precisely in this dispersion a powerful and rapidly efficient aid towards expansion.

C. THE PHœNICIANS

Of the other Semitic nations the Arabs do not in antiquity appear in the history of the Mediterranean countries. Broken up into numerous tribes they led for the most part a restless nomad life within their own peninsula: and the commercial operations, which a few towns conducted, extended by sea and land eastward to Persia and India. On the other hand the Phœnicians appear as one of the most important links in the chain of the Mediterranean nations. They form, in contrast with those nations we have already discussed, the first historical bond fully conscious of their aim and end. The creative, enterprising, progressive spirit of the Mediterranean is alive in the Phœnicians. Equally remote from the contemplative calm of the Egyptians and from the national and religious exclusiveness of the Israelites, they devote themselves from the very outset to the care of the material side of human existence. Moral views are comparatively indifferent to the Phœnicians; but on the other hand they are not burdened with prejudices. They do not attain a national organisation, or the unity of a state, and have therefore in some sense no political history.

A very narrow strip of territory, of small extent, on the Syrian coast forms their home. Despite of this, or directly in consequence of this, they become the pathfinders of the world's history, and the first pioneers of world-trade. The conception of world-trade, which first dawned on the Phœnicians, marks a very important step on the way to the conception of Humanity. The Phœnician towns on the Syrian coast denote so many independent communities, yet in their aggregate they may be regarded as a unit. These towns were under kings, who pursued no political or warlike aims, but were rich and powerful commercial lords. The kings retained their dignity and titles even after the Phœnician towns had become dependencies of Assyria, Babylonia and Persia — an event which occurred early in their history. They retained therefore their Phœnician

individuality; the industry, the enterprising spirit, and the efficient seamanship of the Phœnicians were indispensable to their new suzerains, who, dwelling inland, knew nothing of seafaring. But besides that, they thoroughly understood how to make the most of the natural wealth of their home and its vicinity, to transform it into manufactures, and to discover in distant lands the products which they themselves lacked. Their native Lebanon furnished them with splendid materials for ship-building in its cedar and oak-forests: in fact, they early attained the mastery of the art of ship-building. Lebanon contained also iron-ore, and the adjoining island of Cyprus, and the mountain ranges of Asia Minor and Thrace possessed rich copper-mines: the Phœnicians immediately began systematically to work them. From the purple shell-fish found on the beach they manufactured a dye, renowned for its splendid colour, for which there was a great demand throughout the ancient world, at an early era the Phœnician purple and bright-coloured materials enjoyed a great reputation. They produced excellent glass from sandy quartz. Thus the high technical skill and diligence of the nation developed a many-sided industry, which secured a profitable return. It was an inevitable consequence of the small size of their country that many of its natural products were exhausted owing to the increasing consumption. In particular there was soon a scarcity of purple shell-fish and of amber. The opening up of new sources of supply led to the expansion of their shipping and of their colonisation, which was ever pressing westward. The islands of the Greek archipelago, South Italy, Sardinia, Sicily, Malta, the coasts of Africa and Spain, even the shores of the Atlantic were covered with Phœnician settlements. They went especially in search of metals, amber, wool and skins: in addition to the precious metals they went in quest of tin, which was indispensable for the manufacture of bronze, still frequently used, and was not to be found on the east coast of the Mediterranean, and would have become too costly if obtained from India. They first discovered tin in Spain, and as the amount of ore there was insufficient, they found rich supplies of tin and lead ore in Britain (*insulae Cassiterides*, Scilly Isles). Next they came on a rich store of a valuable amber on the North Sea and the Baltic. The quantities obtained there, partly also land-borne, placed the Phœnicians in a position not only amply to supply their home manufactories with raw materials, but to establish a profitable overland trade with the interior of Asia by means of caravans. They facilitated the introduction of Babylonian civilisation to the nations of the Mediterranean, and extended the carrying trade of Arabia with India. While their own metal-work (ornaments of gold and silver, vessels, implements and weapons of bronze) was a flourishing industry, they exported gold, silver, copper and tin to Egypt, the countries on the Euphrates, and Southern Arabia, and brought home in exchange the treasures of the East, Indian ivory and spices as well as the products of Babylonian looms, in order to sell these again to western countries. If we consider the great export trade which the Phœnicians carried on in ornaments of gold, silver, ivory and amber, in glass objects, in bright, delicate fabrics and purple stuffs, in spices and perfumes, with Italy, the Mediterranean islands, Spain, Africa and still farther the shores of the Atlantic, we shall recognise that they aroused and satisfied the craving for luxuries among the nations on the Mediterranean and in so doing became the most important agent for the dissemination of material culture. At the same time they

paved a way for the passing of the higher intellectual development of the East to the rude West, especially to the gifted Hellenic and Italian peoples. So that we may venture to find in the Phœnicians the transmitters also of intellectual culture.

Notwithstanding all their merits, the Phœnicians never reached national greatness. Apart from their political disunion and the mutual petty jealousies of their towns, the population was always being weakened and diminished by the constant departure of colonists. The colonies, as soon as they felt themselves sufficiently strong, broke away from the mother country: sometimes they experienced that mixture of races which was so frequent and so prevalent on the Mediterranean: sometimes they united themselves into a new great power (Carthage) which, alike in national and political respects, followed its own path. The native coast of Phœnicia preserved, it is true, under the Assyrian and Babylonian as under the later Persian suzerainty, a certain independence: yet the Persians in particular employed the services of the Phœnicians so extensively for their political and military ends, that the strength of the nation must have been exhausted by these requisitions. Most momentous in the end for the Phœnicians was, however, their contact rendered inevitable by geographical conditions, with that Hellenism, which equal in enterprise and love of the sea, was far superior in morality. Precisely because the Phœnicians were capable of culture and clung closely together, the intimate association with a more intellectual race was bound to have a destructive and disintegrating effect. and this, not through hostile conflict, but by gradual spiritual assimilation. If stubborn Judaism had not been able to escape completely the influence of the Hellenic spirit, the pliant cosmopolitan Phœnicians were still less able. After the conquest of Syria by Alexander the Great, Phœnician culture wanes, to be quickly absorbed by Greek civilisation. At the same time the dominion of the sea and the centre of the world-trade are transferred to Hellenised Egypt: Alexandria takes the place of Tyre and Sidon.

D. THE GREEKS

THE Hellenes or Greeks come before us as the most important nation of antiquity on the Mediterranean and the one which exercises the most powerful influence on the far distant future. But the Hellenes do not appear to us as a compacted national entity. They break up into many separate tribes, and their state system presents a spectacle of disunion which only finds a counterpart in the petty states of mediæval Italy or Germany. Nevertheless Greek life shows such a similarity in all its parts, so active a national consciousness of fellowship prevails, and such community of purpose in their institutions, that the Greeks seem a united nation.

Their appearance into history is like the smiling sunbeam, which at the same time illuminates and warms. Rarely indeed was ever a people more happily or splendidly endowed by nature than the ancient Greeks. Disposed to cheerfulness and the light-hearted enjoyment of life, loving song, the dance, and manly exercises, the Greeks possessed also a keen and clear eye for nature and her manifestations, a lively desire for knowledge, an active spirit, which, far removed from the profound subtleties of the Egyptian or Indian philosophers, set boldly

at the task of investigating things from their appearance; they possessed also a highly developed social impulse, and an unerring delicacy of feeling for the beauty of form. This natural appreciation of beauty, which we have not met with yet in any people, is characteristic of the Greeks and raises them at once to a higher level than any other nation. Grace in outward appearance, beauty of form, symmetry of movement in joy as in grief, melodiousness in utterance, chastened elegance of expression, easy dignity in behaviour—these were the qualities the Greek prized highest: these ideals are expressed in the almost untranslatable *καλός καὶ χαρός*: nothing good without beauty. Even among the Greeks of the Heroic Ages we have already the feeling of being in “good society.” This was the ultimate cause of the idealistic tendency of the national mind, of the worship of the Beautiful, which with no other people reached such universal and splendid perfection. This finds its expression in the national cultivation of poetry, music, the plastic arts, and to an equal degree in their religion, philosophy and science. In closest connection with this intellectual tendency stands the hitherto unparalleled degree of freedom and versatility in the development of the individual. Besides all this, the Greeks were physically hardy and strong, brave in battle, cunning and shrewd in commerce, adept in all mechanical crafts. And since they felt themselves drawn towards a seafaring life and navigation, they soon established their complete superiority over all their neighbours.

Hence came their national pride: what was not Greek was barbarous. This boastfulness was not like the dull indifference of the Egyptians, and still less like the bitter religious hatred which the Israelite bore against every stranger, but asserted itself in a sort of good-natured scorn, based on full consciousness of self. The Greek liked, by means of intercourse, example, and instruction, to draw to themselves what was strange, in order to raise themselves: and without hesitation they appropriated whatever strange thing seemed worthy of imitation. Thus they acquired by observation from the Egyptians astronomical and mathematical knowledge, and from the Phœnicians the arts of ship-building and of navigation, of mining and iron-smelting. Hellenism offers the first historical instance of a conquest, which was effected not with weapons or wares, but through intellectual superiority.

Compared with the significance of the Greek race in the history of civilisation, its political history sinks into the background. The universal disorganisation is originally based on the diversity of the tribes, which, it is true, spoke the same language, but established themselves on the Mediterranean at different times, coming from different sides. Whole tribes (Æolians, Dorians, Ionians) always sought out the coasts or their vicinity: the Greeks nowhere, Greece proper excepted, pressed into the heart of the country in large numbers. The only exception to this is presented by the Dorian Lacedæmonians (Spartans) who could never reconcile themselves to maritime life: they also in another respect took up a separate position—they prided themselves not so much on morality as on a somewhat theatrically vainglorious exaltation of bodily strength.

Varied and manifold as the tribes themselves were the communities founded by them and their forms of constitution. The original type, monarchy, came usually to an early end, or was only preserved in name, as at Sparta: yet a form of it persisted in the “Tyranny,” which differed from monarchy only in its lack of hereditary title. The “Tyranny” is found in Greece proper as well as on the islands

and in the Greek parts of Asia Minor, Lower Italy and Sicily: but for the most part it is of short duration, since it required a definite conspicuous personality, after whose death it became extinguished. The high standard of universal education, the wide scope conceded to individuals and the small, easily surveyed extent of the separate communities brought about the result that gradually more and more sections of the people desired and won a share in the conduct of public business. Thus was established the extended republican form of constitution, peculiar to the Hellenic race. (See Vol. I, p. 53. It is strange that this thoroughly Greek conception of Republic should have found no Greek expression, while the word democracy signifies for the Greeks merely a party or class government.) According as wider or narrower circles of the people took part in public affairs, that is, in the government, distinction was made between Oligarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy. These constitutional forms underwent constant change: a cycle is often observable which goes from Oligarchy through Tyranny to Democracy and then begins afresh. Such frequent internal changes could not obviously proceed without civil dissensions and the conflict of antagonistic views: yet these internal struggles passed away, thanks to the mercurial temperament of the people, without any deep-seated disorders, and far from being a barrier to progress, helped to rouse and stimulate their minds. The mutual relations of the individual states to each other present the same features. They are almost continually at war in order to win the spiritual headship in national affairs, the Hegemony, but without hatred or passion, as if engaged in a knightly exercise; with all this they do not lose the feeling of fellowship, which was always kept alive by the national sanctuaries (Dodona, Eleusis, Delphi, Olympia), the regular Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean games, and the Amphictyonic League, as well as by a warm feeling for oratory, the stage, poetry and art, which showed itself stronger than petty local jealousies. At the same time the Greeks did not neglect the practical side of life. The poverty of Greece proper in productions of the soil made the necessity of ample imports early felt, and natural conditions pointed exclusively to the sea as the way by which these should be brought. The dense population of Hellas depended entirely on foreign countries for corn, wine, fruit, wool, leather and timber, while it possessed valuable articles of export in the products of its mines and technical industries. Thus a flourishing maritime commerce was developed, which in the east of the Mediterranean put even that of the Phoenicians into the background. There was awakened among the Greeks, fostered by the extensive coast-line of Hellas and Asia Minor, and by the great number of densely populated islands, a love and aptitude for sea-life which is almost unequalled. The Phoenicians carried on navigation for commercial ends, the Greeks devoted themselves to it as an amusement. And from privateering, in which they also indulged, they were led to develop their shipping for warlike purposes, and so became the founders of a navy. At sea they showed themselves a match for a numerically superior enemy, as the Persian wars testify, in which the enormous fleets of Darius and Xerxes, mostly composed of Phœnician ships, could not withstand those of the Greeks. The city-states of Athens, Argos, Ægina and Corinth; the Ionian Islands; the islands of Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus, Samos, Chios, Paros and Thera; in Asia Minor the towns of Phocæa, Ephesus, and Miletus; the colony of Naukratis in Lower Egypt; in Magna Græcia the towns of Tarentum, Rhegium, Locri, Neapolis, Syracuse,

Messana, Leontini, and Catana, all these were maritime powers — and not less so were the colonies of Miletus on the Black Sea (Sinope and Trapezus); the Corinthian colonies in Illyria (Apollonia, Epidamnus), the Phœcian colonies in the west (Saguntum and Massilia) and the colony in Africa founded from the island of Thera, i.e. Cyrene, which afterwards, under the dynasty of the Battidae, and as a republic, developed into a flourishing power. While the Phœcianics from fear of competition were wont to make a secret of their voyages, the Greeks gave publicity to their own. A thirst for learning and a delight in travelling, both innate qualities of the people, induced not merely sailors and merchants, but men of far higher education to take part in these voyages, and their narratives and records widened men's knowledge of the Mediterranean.

The Greeks were the first to concern themselves not only about their own nation, but about foreign nations and lands, and that not exclusively for political and commercial ends, but out of scientific interest. They studied these foreign lands, their natural peculiarities, their products and needs, the life and the history of their inhabitants. Similarly the Greeks were the first who made no national or caste-like secret of the fruits of their explorations, but willingly placed the results at the disposal of the whole world. While they in this way made the knowledge of geography, natural history and past events accessible to wider circles, they became the founders of the exoteric or popular sciences, while the scientific efforts of all other civilised races became less profitable for the masses from their esoteric character. The spread of knowledge enables Hellenism, as much as its æsthetics, which are based on the pleasure felt in beauty and proportion of form, to exercise an educating and ennobling influence on its surroundings, and firmly cements all who are of kindred stock and spirit. The varied and comprehensive unfolding of Greek life, drawing to itself the outside world, is bound up with a surprisingly rapid local expansion.

The formative influence of Greece on the entire Mediterranean region was fully exercised not during a lengthy period of peace, but in the midst of internal and external disturbances. Greece was split up into countless petty states, but experienced at first no danger from the fact, which rather had a beneficial result, since it gave scope to the capabilities of many individuals. We can thus understand the part which was played by Solon, Pisistratus, Pericles and Alcibiades in Athens, by Lycurgus, Pausanias and Lysander in Sparta, by Periander in Corinth, by Epaminondas and Pelopidas in Thebes, by Polycrates in Samos, and by Gelon and Dionysius in Syracuse. Even hostile collisions between the individual states were, at least in earlier times, harmless: the winning and the losing party were alike Greeks. Then a violent storm gathering in the East came down on them. In the middle of the sixth century B.C. the nation of the Persians roused themselves under their king Cyrus and so quickly extended their power in every direction that their newly founded kingdom became at once the first power in the ancient world. The annihilation of the Babylonian kingdom, the subjugation of the Armenians and Caucasian Scythians, and finally the conquest of the Lydian king Croesus, who ruled over a mixed race, made Cyrus lord of Nearer Asia: even the Greeks of Asia Minor submitted to him, some willingly, some under compulsion nor did the Greeks in Hellas trouble much about them. When, however, Cyrus' successor, Darius I., began to extend his conquests to the regions of the lower Danube in Europe, they became concerned and supported the

attempted revolt of their tribal kinsmen in Asia Minor under the leadership of Miletus. Thus arose the fifty years' war between Greece and Persia, which ended in the victory of the former, in so far as the Persians were forced to renounce all further attempts at conquest. Much ado has been made of the successful defence of tiny Greece against the enormous Persian realm. Considered more closely the matter is not so astonishing. The heroic deeds of a Miltiades, a Themistocles and an Aristides, of a Leonidas, a Xantippus and a Cimon deserve all honour; but the true reasons for the Persian failure lie deeper. Let us remember how weakened the apparently mighty world-empire of Spain emerged from the eighty years' war against the diminutive Netherlands. Moral superiority, higher intelligence and greater skill in seamanship had secured victory to the Greeks. Yet even they had not gone through the war without internal loss. On the one hand, familiarity with Asiatic luxury, made inevitable by the war, exerted a disastrous influence. On the other hand the rivalry of the states and their internal factions were rendered keener by the political and diplomatic intrigues running parallel with the war. This led to mutual aggression and the infringements of rights and finally to regular war between the two leading states, Athens and Sparta. The Peloponnesian war (431-404), so bitterly waged, undermined the political power of both. Almost all the Greek states, including the islands and Sicily, took part in it. The exhausted victors, however, soon afterwards submitted to the Thebans, who were ambitious of the Hegemony. But they also were too weak to maintain the leadership. The result of the contest for supremacy was the enfeeblement of all. At this point begins the political downfall of the Greek petty-state system, but at the same time there came a new and strange increase of the national greatness in another direction, a Renaissance of Hellenism generally. While the smaller states were rending each other, the Hegemony had been transferred to a stock, which had until now been disregarded as comparatively backward in civilisation, but was nevertheless thoroughly vigorous and Greek; that of the Macedonians, who had early founded a kingdom in Thessaly and Thrace, and were ruled by a royal family which prided itself on its descent from Hercules. King Philip II. of Macedon (359-336), in consequence of the internal disorders of Greece, had formed the plan of making himself master of the whole country, and carried it out, partly by force (Chæronea, 338), partly by diplomacy and bribery. While he used his victory with moderation and knew how to pose as the guardian of the rights of the separate states to self-government, he so managed that the league of the Amphictyons nominated him commander of the league in the aggressive war planned against the Persians. During the preparations for the war Philip was murdered, and was succeeded by his son Alexander, then a young man of twenty (336-323). He not only carried out all his father's plans, but went far beyond them.

The gigantic apparition of Alexander the Great at the head of his Macedonian and Greek armies raged like a storm-cloud over Asia and Africa. An unprecedented idea had mastered the royal youth: the conquest of the entire known world, and its union under his sceptre into one single empire, in which Hellenic and oriental culture should be blended. In an unparalleled series of victories Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Phoenicia, Egypt, Cyrene, Media, Babylonia, Parthia, and Persia were conquered: the armies of the Persian king, Darius III., were annihilated in decisive battles: and in the capital, Persepolis,

the enfeebled Persian nation did homage to the conqueror. Then his progress was continued northward against the Scythians and eastward against the Indians. The valiant resistance offered by the ruler of the Punjab, King Porus, caused Alexander to interrupt his victorious career and to return to Babylon, in order thence to govern the mighty empire which his sword had won. Fate allowed him no time to carry out his great plan: overcome by excesses, Alexander died, and left a shattered and incompletely reconstructed world behind him. The empire, which lacked any internal bond of union, was destined to break up, all the more after his death, since neither the question of succession to the throne nor the organisation of the empire had been settled. In the wars of the "Diadochi" able and great men among the Hellenes fought for the sovereignty of the world. The powerful Antigonus and his son Demetrius, the "Town Destroyer," claimed the title of "Kings of Asia": they found in Europe a counterpoise in Antipater and his son Cassander, who usurped lordship over Macedonia and Greece. Other generals joined one side or the other, and carried off as spoils whole provinces: a truly bewildering confusion. The battle of Ipsus first ended it; Antigonus fell, and with him his proud structure, the kingdom of Asia, crashed to the ground. Meanwhile Hellenism had been playing a predominant part and all the other nations looked on in silence. The conquerors divided among themselves the inheritance of Alexander. Cassander took Macedonia and Greece, Lysimachus Thrace, Seleucus Nicanor the whole of Nearer Asia, and Ptolemy Lagi Egypt. But only the two latter succeeded in founding lasting dynasties. The kingdom of Seleucus was soon absorbed into Syria: Cassander's dominions fell to the descendants of Antigonus, and the Thracian kingdom of Lysimachus sank into ruins. On the other hand new Greek states arose. Some fifty years after the death of Alexander, the divisions of his inheritance, from which the central Asiatic countries were severed, assumed a more lasting form, Mediterranean in character. This was the era of the Hellenistic monarchies. The preponderant influence in the political history and civilisation of Hellenism passes from Hellas proper, which gradually sinks into decay, to the border-lands. As such, appear the kingdom of Macedonia under the descendants of Antigonus, the kingdom of Epirus under the Pyrrhidae, the kingdom of Syria under the Seleucidæ, the kingdom of Egypt under the Ptolemies, the town of Pergamus in Asia Minor, under the Attalidae, and the kingdom of Bithynia in Asia Minor, founded by Nicomedes. In a certain sense we may include the later kingdoms of Cappadocia, Pontus, the Greater and Lesser Armenias, former parts of the Syrian empire of the Seleucidæ, since their royal houses had been greatly influenced by the Greek spirit. So, too, many Greek islands regained their political independence: Crete became a dreaded nest of corsairs; Rhodes attained a high civilisation.

Hellas proper, divided into the Achaean and the Etolian Leagues, sought a return to her former republican greatness, but could not release herself from the Macedonian power, and wasted her remaining strength in fighting against it, as well as in conflicts between the two leagues, so that finally it became an easy prey for the Romans. Hellenism meanwhile unfolded its most beautiful blossoms in the monarchies. Admittedly it lost more and more of its national character and became more markedly cosmopolitan: but to the world at large this tendency was profitable. The houses of the Ptolemies, the Seleucidæ, and

the Attalidæ especially, produced enlightened patrons of science and art. The towns where their courts were, Alexandria, Antioch, and Pergamus, became capitals of vast splendour, size and wealth, centres alike of intellectual culture and world commerce. They were adorned with magnificent buildings, temples and palaces, with academies, museums and libraries with art-treasures of every kind. They were filled with manufactories, stores of merchandise and warehouses. The ever active and eagerly creative spirit of the Greek people, from whom the weakening and distracting occupation of politics had been withdrawn by the monarchical form of government, threw itself with redoubled energy partly into scientific research and artistic production, partly into the industries, trade and navigation, and in all these branches achieved triumphs which were spread over every coast by the medium of the sea.

The age of the Hellenistic kingdoms, which comprises the last three centuries before the beginning of the new chronology, marks the zenith of Hellenistic culture; it is the period when the greater world, revealed by the conquests of Alexander, was explored by science and its value practically realised. To this period belong the delicate perfection of the Greek language, the rich literary productions in the departments of philosophy, mathematics, physical science, geography and history, and a great assiduity in collecting: all these laid the foundation of real science. Then also trade and navigation were organised, not on the basis of a monopoly, but on that of free competition, and these drew the connecting bond still closer round the nations of the Mediterranean. But above all, this age is that of the admitted supremacy of Greek life, that gentle power which irresistibly draws to itself all that is outside it, and assimilates it; that power which has absorbed the Phœnician, Syrian and Egyptian civilisation, and has not passed over the Jewish without leaving its trace. On the other hand the invasion of many strange peoples (on the Scythians, Illyrians and Gauls see below, pp. 62, 72-81) could not but react ultimately on Hellenism. It lost its homogeneousness and the feeling of nationality, weakened already by independent political events. These causes and the fact that it was the common possession of different states continually at war with each other, eventually made Hellenism the foundation on which the Roman people built up the proud structure of their greatness.

E. CARTHAGE

BEFORE the Romans began to influence powerfully the people on the Mediterranean, the Carthaginian nation, on the western shores of it, had already appeared on the stage of history (see above, p. 17). The Phœnician colony, in which the noblest families of proud Tyre had found a new home, soon broke off connection with the mother country, drew the remaining Phœnician settlements in Africa to itself and formed with them one flourishing state, in which nothing, except their descent and their liking for the sea, reminds us of their original home. Even the nationality of the Carthaginians seems to have shown an independent stamp, owing to the influence of their surroundings, although their language remained Phœnician. The territory of the Carthaginian state, bounded on the east by Numidia, on the west by Mauretania, was soon covered with numerous towns, not only on the coast, but also in the interior, where agriculture

could be carried on profitably. Colonisation spread from the coast towns as far as the Balearic Islands, Spain, the Atlantic coasts of Africa, and to the great Mediterranean islands, Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily. On the last-named island Greek settlements already existed. Hence a long conflict broke out between Carthaginians and Greeks in Sicily for the possession of the island, in the western part of which the former, and in the eastern part the latter maintained their supremacy. The army and fleet of the Carthaginian general Hamilcar were destroyed by the Syracusan leader Gelon at Himera in 480.

Though possessing considerable resources and great wealth, Carthage performed no especial services in the cause of civilisation. The oppressive rule of an aristocratic oligarchy at home, a religion which craved for human sacrifices, and a vein of cruelty peculiar to the whole people, characterised the Carthaginians. A civilising influence on their Berber neighbours can be inferred in so far as these nomads became partially settled, built cities (Iol and Tingis in Mauretania, Hippo and Zama in Numidia), and adopted a regular form of government (the kingdoms of Mauretania and Numidia). The more the power of Carthage extended in the Mediterranean, the more often must she come into conflict with the power of Rome, which advanced at first only towards the West. Each of the two powers saw in the other the chief hindrance to its prosperity, a dangerous rival, with whom it was impossible to live in peace, and who must be annihilated at any cost. In Carthage, as in Rome, the consciousness of the necessity of a struggle for life and death had become an article of the national creed, and served to foster the bitterness between the two nations. The war broke out 264 B.C. Sicily once more was the immediate cause of it. Owing to the tenacity and the military efficiency of both combatants, it lasted with interruptions until 146, after it had been waged in many places, in Sicily, Africa, Spain, Italy and at sea. In the years 218-215 the war, owing to the bold march of the Carthaginian general, Hannibal, through Spain and Southern Gaul over the Alps into Italy, presented a surprisingly favourable prospect for Carthage and brought Rome to the brink of ruin, but after the Romans had found a valuable ally in the Numidian king Masinissa, the war ended definitely with the fall of Carthage. The town itself was destroyed, the country came as a province to Rome. The same fate befell the African kingdoms of Numidia and Mauretania. Julius Caesar had Carthage rebuilt as a Roman town: as such and as the capital of the Vandal kingdom it played in subsequent years a part in history. The Punic population as such preserved its identity up to the conquest of the Vandals and even to the invasion of the Arabs, and exercised great influence on Christianity through its Fathers of the Church (St. Jerome and others).

F. ROME

THE ruins of the Carthaginian power formed the first stepping-stone for the world-empire of the Romans, the people in whom the "Mediterranean spirit" is most clearly seen. The Roman people, or, more correctly speaking, the Roman state, emerged from an obscure beginning through the consistent and successful prosecution of one leading idea. The development of the Romans struck out a path quite different from that of their kinsmen, the Greeks. With regard to

the poetical embellishments of their origin, history has followed the spirit of the times; but this much is clearly established, that a fragment of the old Italic people of the Latins, inhabiting central Italy, founded Rome on the Tiber after their severance from their kinsfolk, and regarded it henceforth as the national centre. The national pride of the Romans, highly developed from the very outset, their military capacities, and their successful wars against their neighbours soon raised the town to prosperity, greatness and power and made it a nucleus to which all the other peoples of Italy either voluntarily or under compulsion in time attached themselves. This pre-eminence of Rome rested on a fundamental moral conception, precisely like the pre-eminence of the Hellenes over the east of the Mediterranean: but the morality of Rome was quite distinct from the Hellenic, and therefore had different effects. Roman life was developed from the idea of the state, the lofty conception and never failing manifestation of the indivisible unity, the majesty and omnipotence of the state in itself. The "Res Publica" was the highest ideal for the Roman. He felt himself not an individual, as the Greek did, but an inseparable element of the state, only thereby entitled to exist, but for that reason, ~~too~~, of an exalted greatness. The common weal was the first law for him: to this all else — nationality, individuality, civilisation and religion — was subordinated. Not that he would have been intolerant of foreign nationality and civilisation or foreign creeds; those were matters of indifference to him. He only demanded of every man who obtained a share in the state an unqualified submission to the ideas of the state. Much narrower limits were therefore set to the assertion of individuality than among the Greeks. Personality counted for little in public life, in which all was concentrated, all ~~taught~~ in a single key. In consequence, an unshaken firmness was developed in the fabric of the state, an inexhaustible vitality, which, guided by a many-headed but single-voiced will, was always directed into such paths as led to the deepening and widening of the state-idea. Heterogeneous tendencies and internal struggles doubtless existed even in the Roman state; and there were radical changes of political plans and forms of government, transitions from monarchy to an aristocratic and thence to a democratic republic, and thence to oligarchy and imperialism. Nevertheless one common characteristic belongs to all factions and regimes, namely, the compacted structure of state-unity and state-omnipotence.

The peculiar tendency of Roman life is displayed in an advance in civilisation, which influenced the nations on the Mediterranean and beyond to a no less degree than the Greeks did. The development of the ideal side of civilisation, as well as its material promotion by manufactures and trade, the two paths so successfully trodden by Hellenism, remain somewhat foreign to the Roman nature and are only followed after the example of others. But the Romans turn as pioneers to the social question, which stands in intimate connection with the development of the state. They are the first to make progress in this sphere and in a threefold direction:

(1) The Romans were early inclined to restrict all expression of public and private life to strict forms, and to stereotype these by written laws, and equally to bind all members of the state, without exception, to their observance. By this means the caprice and partiality of the judges were checked, the popular idea of justice was strengthened, and a strong respect for law infused into every section of the people. This feeling was one of the firmest props of the authority

of the state, the knowledge of law and jurisprudence was developed hand in hand with it into a science peculiar to the Romans.

(2) Again, the Romans were the first people to recognise the danger which threatens a state in a large class of pauper citizens. They directed their efforts therefore towards establishing an equal division, as far as possible, of property, especially real property, by a classification of the citizens, by agrarian laws, by gratuitous division of state-lands among the poorer classes, and by a gradually improved adjustment of the conditions of tenure. The entire scheme failed, because of the growth of the state and the increasing complexity of its relations. Still, credit is due to the Romans for having recognised the importance of the question and for having attempted its solution.

(3) The Romans were the first people to assign to woman an honourable position in the family and in society, and that from the very beginning. They recognised in the family the strongest foundation of society, and therefore kept a strict watch over the sanctity of marriage and invested woman with the dignity and privileges of a citizen. Even the Greeks themselves with all their striving after the ideal — to say nothing about the Semitic and oriental peoples — misunderstood the position of woman, whom they treated as an inferior being and kept in slavish dependence: the influence which individual *Hetare*, distinguished by beauty and wit, exercised, only marks the low position in which women were intentionally kept. The Romans, on the contrary, strongly insisted on modesty in their women, and they therefore showed them due respect: and though there was no social intercourse between the sexes in the present meaning of the word, women took with them a far higher position, both in public and private life, than with any other people of those times.

While the Romans perfected the most complete constitution which antiquity possessed on the Mediterranean, their state-system, partly through successful wars with the other Italian nations, partly by alliances and voluntary accessions of territory, grew increasingly in extent. Rome began to exercise a charm, from which even the Greeks of Lower Italy could not withdraw themselves, and the Roman citizenship became a greatly prized privilege. And though national differences in Italy did not entirely disappear, the Latin branch maintained a distinct predominance over all others, and Latin became the prevailing language. From South Italy the Romans encroached upon much-coveted Sicily, and in so doing brought about the war with the Carthaginians (p. 24), in consequence of which they were able to create the first province, adding in the following years Sardinia and Corsica. From this point begins the vast and gradually increasing expansion of the Roman empire. Attacks from without furnished the immediate stimulus: the annoying piracy of the Illyrians and the continual unrest caused by the Celts of Cisalpine Gaul compelled interference. The Gauls were then in the course of a backward migration, that is, one from West to East (cf. p. 8). The terrible disaster of the year 390 was not yet forgotten, but a century and a half had not passed over the land in vain; the Roman state was already strong enough not only to repel the attack, but to subdue the country across the Po as far as the Alps. Then their task was to ward off the second and most violent attack of the Carthaginians. This second Punic war, after many vicissitudes, added Spain, wrested from the Carthaginians, to the Roman provinces. Hannibal's plan to unite the Hellenistic monar-

chies of the East against Rome was wrecked by the superior policy of the Romans, who shattered the alliance and conquered its most active member, King Philip III. of Macedon. The war with Macedonia and the Achæan league permitted the Romans to take a firm footing in Greece also, where they already had an ally in the Etolian league. Rome's lust for conquest only became greater; for the Hellenistic states, dazzled by the good fortune of Rome, were accustomed in all external and internal difficulties to turn to Rome as arbitrator.

The greatest impulse to the irresistible expansion of the Roman power was given when the third Punic war had ended in the incorporation of the Carthaginian state as the Province of Africa (146). The thought of a world-dominion, up till now merely casual, and the natural consequence of favourable events, from this moment confronts us as a political motive clearly realised and carried out with iron resolution through the raising of immense armaments and astounding diplomatic skill. Almost simultaneously with Carthage the completely shattered Macedon was incorporated, and then came a rapid succession of new provinces — Greece (Achaia), Pergamus, left by King Attalus III. as an inheritance to the Romans (*Asia propria*), Transalpine Gaul, Cilicia, Cyrene, Bithynia, bequeathed to the Romans by King Nicomedes III., the island of Crete, the kingdom of Pontus on the Black Sea, wrested from the powerful Mithradates VI.; Syria, snatched from the Seleucidæ; the island of Cyprus, Numidia, Mauretania, Egypt, taken in the year 30 from the Ptolemies, and Galatia. Thus the Roman dominion had completely encircled the entire coast of the Mediterranean and had penetrated deep into the interior of three continents. Then came a series of fresh provinces, some in Europe, some in Asia: only the German races dwelling between the Rhine, Danube and Elbe were able to protect themselves against that iron embrace.

This gigantic frame was held together by one single force — Rome, which administered the bewildering conglomeration of the most heterogeneous nations. The ruling people, the Romans, left to their subjects their language and nationality, religion and worship, manners and customs, trade and industries, unchanged, nothing was required of them but obedience, taxes and soldiers. And the nations obeyed, paid taxes, furnished recruits and were proud to be members of the mighty empire. This result would be incomprehensible, despite all the advantages of Rome, if the influence of the Phœnicians and Greeks had not prepared the way. The Phœnician and Greek nature had shot the varied warp of the national life of the Mediterranean nations and woven a stout fabric, from which the Romans skilfully cut their imperial mantle. The myriad relations which had been formed between the different members by their mediation could not fail to instil, at any rate in the upper strata, a homogeneity in mode of thought, feeling and contemplation, which gradually deepened and revived the consciousness of the original and long since forgotten affinity. The Roman world-sovereignty opened up the glad prospect for the different nations that, without being forced to renounce their national individuality, they might study the promotion of their own prosperity in peaceful contact. The place of the ideas of nationality, home and fatherland, which alone had been predominant until now, was taken by the all-embracing idea of the state, of a state which to some extent embodied mankind and took the welfare of all alike under its sheltering wings. This fabric appeared constructed for eternity. Nothing seemed able to

shatter the solidity of its framework: neither the onslaught of external foes nor internal dissensions, nor finally the change in form of government — republic, dictatorship, triumvirate, empire. The state-idea was never lost from sight, not even in the civil wars with their extermination of the noblest. In the genius of Caesar, the divine Julius (his surname *Kaīσaρ* has become the title of the highest grade in monarchical rank), is found the most splendid embodiment of the Roman conception of the state. And when his great-nephew Octavianus Augustus succeeded in attaining the highest dignity in the state without infringing the time-honoured system of administration, and in making the office hereditary for some time, the proud edifice seemed to have received its coping-stone.

The Roman empire of that age formed a world-empire in a stricter sense of the word than that of Alexander the Great: it was no mere collection of discordant and divergent entities welded by the sword, but an organic living body, which had Rome for its head. The organising genius of the Romans had created a system whose threads met in one central point. The capital offered, also, with its palaces, temples, theatres, race-courses, monuments and baths, with its processions, feasts, gladiatorial shows and a thousand dissipations, an endless series of attractions. For the Romans there was but one city, the "Urbs;" but one limit to the empire, that of the "world." The Roman spirit did not cling to its city, it spread over all provinces, not deeply penetrating and absorbing, like the Greek spirit, but commanding respect by its self-trust, calm earnestness, and systematic order. Thus the Roman ideals are a valuable supplement to the Hellenic civilisation. On every shore of the Mediterranean they come into contact and by mutual interpenetration blend into that distinctive Mediterranean spirit which now begins to awaken to self-consciousness.

G. CHRISTIANITY

IN the new order of things which had been created in the region of the Mediterranean by the enlargement of the Roman empire, the teachings of Christ produced a revolution in the intellectual world such as history has but seldom seen. The effect of this change was neither political nor national, but purely intellectual and social. Since all worldly ambition was wanting in the first adherents of the Christian religion, who were mostly "mean people" from the poorer and more ignorant classes, they exercised at first no immediately sensible influence on a public life unalterably cast into the inflexible forms of imperial Rome. The first attack on them proceeded from Judaism, which was just then being annihilated as a political influence and as a nation: but the dispersion of the Jews contributed largely to the spreading broadcast of the seed of Christianity. It was an equally important point that the Christian teaching at the very first, broke down the narrow barriers of national Jewish thought, filled itself with the Greek spirit through the immense activity of Paul, who had received a Greek education and had been brought up a Pharisee, and was thereby enabled to enter into sympathy with all mankind. An ever-widening power belongs to monotheism: this power, freed from shackles of nationality, was the more effective from the union in the Christian teaching of the belief in one God, with a moral code, which, through its gentleness and its love, embracing all mankind without distinction, spoke to the hearts of all. For the first time the principle appeared

that all men, without distinction, are the "children of God": all of equal spiritual worth, all called to the enjoyment of equal rights.

From the beginning of historical times every social organisation had been based on inequality: and although it was only among the Egyptians that this principle was carried out on the Mediterranean in its strictest form, i.e. "caste," yet in every nation a strict division of classes existed. The idea of a "people" comprised usually only a section of politically privileged citizens, more or less restricted in numbers, while under them a large population, without political rights or personal freedom, existed as slaves. Even Rome herself, steeped in a strict spirit of justice, had maintained slavery as a state institution: her economic life was entirely founded on it. Slaves cultivated the fields; slaves were busied with crafts and trades, slaves rowed the ships of the merchants, while the citizens fulfilled their state obligations by voting in the public assemblies and by military service. Free labour was the exception. Then suddenly the Christians came forward and asserted that there was no distinction between high and low, bond and free, master and servant; that all men were equal and had no other duty than to love and to help each other. The first Christians certainly made no attempt to introduce this doctrine into ordinary life: they emphatically declared that their kingdom was not of this world, and, waiting for the realisation of their hopes in the world to come, willingly adapted themselves to their appointed condition. But when such tenets penetrated the dense masses of ignorant bondmen, was not a mistaken interpretation of the question possible? Would not this part of the population be inclined to seek the promised equality and fraternity in this world rather than in the next? Would not the enormous crowd of slaves, presuming on their natural strength and appealing to the new teaching, refuse all further work and actually demand a share in the property of the owners? Would not thus the traditional order of society be threatened and the very existence of the state be endangered? A war of all against all seemed imminent.

We can estimate from this how the first appearance of Christianity with its unheard-of demands must have unfolded, uncompromising and threatening, the picture of the social question. The followers of Christianity were either to be ridiculed as unpractical enthusiasts or to be hated as dangerous innovators. The ideal core of Christianity, the manifestation of a pure humanity, was superior to the Jewish, Hellenic and Roman nature. Mankind must first be educated to understand it. As long as that was not the case, the Roman state must offer resistance to the new teaching and strive to suppress it by force. Yet it was destined to discover that the power of thought is greater than that of external violence. Notwithstanding all the heat of the conflict, it gradually was made clear that both pursued, although on different roads, the same end, namely, the establishment of the superiority of the universal to the individual. If Rome strove after political sovereignty over the world, Christianity strove after its spiritual union under one faith, one worship, one moral law. The close relationship between these two apparently dissimilar aims must lead finally to a mutual understanding—a compromise was made. The state abandoned all attempts to suppress by force a faith which had already penetrated the higher social strata and had lost its revolutionary appearance. Christianity, on the contrary, renounced its dreams of a millennium and assumed an attitude of toleration towards the calls of earthly life.

In the end both parties recognised that they could make good use of each other: the state recognised in a universal religion which rested on a foundation of morality a firm cement to bind together the loosening fabric of the empire; Christianity learnt to value in Roman life the power of strict organisation, and was busy in turning this power to the good of its own welfare. Then came reconciliation. The state became Christian, i.e. Christianity became the religion of the predominant circles, while its opponents were confined, both in space and social influence, to continuously lessening classes (*paganī*). Christianity organised itself as a church, after the model and in the spirit of the Roman state. In return for the support afforded by it, the Church desired and obtained from the state the unfettered control of souls, that is, over the thoughts and feelings of all members of the state. And so when Christianity, recognised as the Roman state religion, had victoriously spanned all the coasts of the Mediterranean, a new bond of union was drawn, in which the close inner connection of the members was clearly seen. The belief in the One God which originated with the Israelites; the activity of the Phœnicians in distributing material goods; the high flights of thought, the appreciation of the beautiful and the thirst for research that marked the Hellenes; the law-loving nature, the spirit of order and the social science of the Romans; the moral code of Christianity, which rests on the universal love of mankind — all these have a subtle power, and, kept in ceaseless contact and balance through the ease of intercourse afforded by the sea, engender the "Mediterranean spirit," characterised by the strong desire for perfection, for wisdom and prosperity, for a better and more beautiful existence, based on an ever-broadening social foundation.

3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MEDITERRANEAN SPIRIT

A. THE INVASION OF THE GERMANIC RACES

THE Roman empire, whose development and extension had placed it in a favourable position to unite no inconsiderable portions of mankind, had long been the hammer: it was now destined to become the anvil. The "great fly-wheel of all history," the migration of nations, had stood comparatively still while the world-empire of Rome was being built; at least the far-off effects of it had been less appreciable on the shores of the Mediterranean. Now the empire received a blow of tremendous violence, dealt by the Germans, under the shock of which the fabric of the world creaked. Many a strange rumbling had preceded the shock. The first signs of the new movement go back to the onslaught of the Cimbrians and Teutons on the Roman power, some hundred years before the beginning of the Christian era, and are repeated at short intervals with increasing strength. The German tribes on the farther side of the Rhine and the Danube became more and more restless; and though the Suevi in Roman Gaul were conquered by Julius Cæsar, all attempts of the Romans to subjugate the German tribes on the other side of the two boundary rivers were in vain. Soon Rome saw herself restricted to the defensive, and even that position became more and more difficult. The Dacians on the lower Danube were only subdued with difficulty and partially Romanised by numerous colonies. At the mouths of

the Danube and on the coasts of the Black Sea the Goths established themselves, after dislodging and subduing the Scythians and Sarmatians, and thence overran in numerous predatory hordes the provinces of Thrace, Asia Minor and Greece: after occupying Dacia, which the Romans had given up, they founded a kingdom which stretched from the Black Sea to the Baltic.

Besides this, in the extreme east of Rome's Asiatic empire the renewed attacks of the Parthians gave cause to suspect that the great reservoirs of population in central Asia were once more about to be poured out. This outbreak occurred in full force at the precise moment when the Roman empire, which had already become rotten to the core, split under the burden of its own weight into two halves, a western and an eastern, with Rome and Constantinople as capitals. The Huns, a numerous nation of horsemen, Mongolian in race, living in central Asia, being hard pressed, began to move and drive everything steadily before them in their march westward. On the Volga the Huns came upon the Alanes, also a nomad nation of horsemen, consisting of a mixture of Germans and Sarmatians, and hurried them on with them. Both together hurled themselves against the new kingdom of the Goths and shattered it. While the eastern portion of this people spread with the Huns and Alanes into the Dacian-Pannonian lowlands, the western Goths threw their whole weight first against the eastern and then the western Roman empire. Athaulf, Alaric's successor, led them out of Italy into Gaul and Spain.

In the meanwhile the impact of the Huns, which had destroyed the Goths, had set all the German tribes westward of the Vistula into motion and had caused their general advance towards the west and south: hence ensued a ~~migration~~ with women and children and all movable possessions, which flooded Europe and did not break up or halt until the Mediterranean shores were reached. But before the equipoise of the nations, which were crowding on each other in storm and stress, could be restored, new masses kept rolling onwards. The Germanic tribes were followed by the Slavonic, who occupied the habitations which the former had left, and gradually began to spread over the broad stretch of land between the Baltic and the Black Seas. Behind these appeared hordes of Tataric and uncertain origin (Bulgarians, Iaziges, Avars, etc.), continually keeping the line moving westward.

The fate of the Roman empire was sealed. It could not withstand such pressure. Even that splendid system went down before the flood of rapacious barbarians. Only in vain did the Romans take troop after troop of these barbarians into their own pay; in vain they conceded to them border state after border state as a bulwark, and when the western Roman government, in order to protect at least their ancestral land, Italy, recalled their own legions from the provinces, these were immediately inundated. Among "the first who knew nothing of the last" the Germans poured over the empire. At the beginning of the fifth century the Franks established themselves in northern, the Burgundians in eastern, Gaul; the Vandals marched to Spain, and driven thence by the West Goths, who were vacating Italy, they crossed over the Straits of Gibraltar into Roman Africa. Meantime the West Goths settled in Spain and Aquitania. But even Italy itself had not drained the cup of misery to the dregs when the bands of Alaric plundered her. Attila, "the scourge of God," dreaming of a world-empire, had led the hordes of horsemen from the kingdom of the Huns, Alanes

and Goths, against western Europe. He encountered in Gaul the Roman commander Actius, under whom the Franks, Burgundians, West Goths, Gauls and the remnants of the Romans had united in common defence. Attila, compelled on the plains of Châlons to retreat, swooped down on Upper Italy, where he destroyed the flourishing town of Aquileia. He died, it is true, as early as 453: but Rome found in his place two dangerous enemies. The German Odovacar, who had been intrusted by the Romans with the protection of Italy, deposed the last Roman emperor and, without any opposition, made Italy Germanic. Meantime the Byzantine emperor, Zeno, had shaken the threatening presence of the Pannonian East-Gothic kingdom from off his neck by prompting Theoderic to conquer Italy. That great East Goth succeeded not only in making himself king of Italy in the place of Odovacar, but in transmitting the sovereignty to his descendants. His chief aim was to abolish the national differences between Romans and Goths. Unfortunately the Goths, when they became Christians, had adopted the doctrine of Arius, which Church and state had rejected, and even if they adapted themselves to the Roman forms in government, the union was limited to the peaceful occupancy of a common territory. During these changes in Italy new German kingdoms were rising in the former Roman provinces on the west and south. In Gaul, the Salic Franks, under Chlodwig (486), had annihilated the last remnants of the Roman rule and had adopted the Christian doctrine sanctioned by Rome. From this germ grew the Frankish power, destined for such future greatness. In Spain, Athaulf had already laid the foundation of a West-Gothic sovereignty. Eurich and his successors ruled over this West-Gothic elective monarchy until 711. The amalgamation of Goths and Romans in Spain proceeded far more smoothly than in Italy, ~~especially~~ because King Reccared (587) was converted from Arian to orthodox Christianity, and formed a legislature for both nations in common. Dislodged by the victorious West Goths, the Vandals had already withdrawn to Roman Africa: their king Geiserich had conquered the whole province (439) and made Carthage the capital of a kingdom which was destined to live for nearly a century. The Vandals, who had become a considerable maritime power, then acquired Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica and the Balearic Islands, and were dreaded not only in Italy (455, sack of Rome), but also in Byzantium. Yet the warm climate and the luxury of later Rome soon sapped the strength of the Northerners. A blending with the Romans had been impracticable, since the Vandals, who in contrast to the other Germans were intolerant in religion, as zealous Arians relentlessly persecuted the adherents of the Roman Church. At this time the East Roman empire took a fresh lease of life under Justinian I. This prince, hard pressed in the North by the Bulgarians and in the East by the Persians, entertained the idea of restoring the unity and the greatness of the pristine Roman empire: the success and skill of his brave generals, Belisarius and Narses, made this goal seem actually attainable. After the annihilation of the disintegrating Vandal power, the southern coasts of West-Gothic Spain were conquered and held for some time. Then the Byzantine armies turned to Italy, and after twenty years of fighting the power of the East Goths was ended. But the times were unfavourable for a complete restoration; fresh hordes were following the main body of migrating Eastern nations. The territories in Pannonia and Dacia, which had been abandoned in his time by Theoderic, had been occupied by Langobardi and

Gepidi. In the wars of extermination which had broken out between the two races the Langobardi won the day: but they had to yield to the pressure of the Tataric Avars, and moved westward. In the year 568 the Langobardi, under Alboin, reached the borders of Italy. In a very brief period they had conquered almost the whole land. The independent spirit of the Langobardi hardly tolerated the rule of their own kings, and each duke sought rather to become a ruler on his own account. Thus the first foundations were laid for the political disintegration of Italy. After King Authari (589) had married the Bavarian Theodelinde, an adherent to the Roman faith, close relations arose between the conquerors and the conquered. Steady amalgamation made the German spirit retreat further and further into the background, until at last it was stifled by the Roman. In the struggle against powerful vassals, against the remnants of the Byzantine exarchate at Ravenna, and against the influence of the bishop of Rome, the kingdom of the Langobardi gradually sank to ruin, until in 774 a foreign invader gave it its death blow.

B. THE INVASION OF ISLAM

THE mighty movement in the north of the Mediterranean, outlines of which have been sketched in the preceding pages, has its counterpart in a later movement on the eastern and southern coasts. Here also a migration begins, not indeed from unknown regions, but starting from a definite local centre. It advanced not as a half-unknown natural force, but springing from one individual will. The southeastern angle of the basin of the Mediterranean, the birthplace of monotheistic religions, once more produced an idea of the One God, which united in itself the obstinate zeal of the worship of Jehovah with the expansive power of the Christian religion. Islam, the doctrine taught by Mahomet, not only quickly took root in Arabia, its home, but grew irresistibly greater: all nations on the face of the earth were to be converted to the belief in Allah and his Prophet, and by the sword, if other means failed. Thus the previously isolated Arabian nation suddenly swept beyond its borders with overwhelming power, the leader in a second migration.

The invasion of the Arabs did not drive the other peoples before it, as the German migration had done; it overwhelmed them. The successors of Mahomet, who as Kalifs were the spiritual and temporal rulers of their people, immediately commenced an attack on the two great neighbouring powers. Omar deprived the Byzantines of Syria, Palestine, Phoenicia, Egypt and the north coast of Africa. His successor, Othman, conquered Persia and destroyed the royal house of the Sassanides.

Hardly had the Arabs settled on the Mediterranean when they became inspired with the life of the Mediterranean spirit; and although the situation of their country, bounded by three seas, had in thousands of years never once caused them to turn their thoughts to navigation, they now became navigators. On the Phoenician coast, the classic cradle of maritime life, they created for themselves, as it were in a moment, powerful fleets, with which they not only ventured on a naval war with the Byzantines, but also seized the world's trade into their own hands. The influence of the Mediterranean asserted itself. Contact with the Graeco-Roman civilisation aroused in them a spirit of

research and a love for science. At a time when Europe was retrograding intellectually and morally through the flood of barbarous nations and the subversal of all institutions, the Arabs became almost the only transmitters of culture. Under the Kalifate of the Ommiades (661-750), who transferred their court to Damascus, the Arabian supremacy was extended still more widely. While it spread in Asia as far as the Caucasus, the Caspian and Aral Seas, the Sir-darja and away towards India, it invaded Europe from Africa in a direction just opposite to the path of Vandal invasion. In the year 711 the Arabs put an end to the kingdom of the West Goths, swarmed over the Pyrenees into the kingdom of the Franks, and occupied the Balearic Islands, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily and even Tarentum.

C. RETROSPECTIVE

If we consider as a whole the movement of the nations, continuing from the middle of the fourth to the eighth century and beyond, we notice before everything else a predominant line of advance from East to West on both sides of the Mediterranean. In the North the movement begins earlier and penetrates deeper: in the South it is a deliberate course of action. In both cases it is brought to a halt by the Atlantic Ocean and is compelled to describe a right angle and to strike out into a new direction. Determined by the nature of the ground, their march leads the wanderers across the sea at the point where the continents are closest to each other, at the Straits of Gibraltar: here the two currents meet and join their waters. Thus the living strength of both is destroyed. The moving circle of nations round the Mediterranean is now completely closed. The whole movement must come to a stop, even if the pressure from behind continues, for it can no longer go forward: the two ends of the thread have been joined, and form a tangled skein, which prevents all progress. Now the problem for the nation is how to plant themselves firmly in the ground, to hold fast to the conquered territory as far as possible, and to keep off the next comers. As for the basin of the Mediterranean itself, which again became the scene of events in the history of the world, it showed itself for the second time to be the mighty breakwater or the great receiver, in which the motley mixture of nations ferments and in the end is purified into more perfect forms. During the great storm, indeed, and immediately after it there is more fermentation than purification to be observed on the Mediterranean. An old world has been shattered into fragments, and the new world knows not what is to be made out of the scattered ruins. A lofty, and eventually an over-refined civilisation has been compelled to bow beneath the rude steps of nations exuberant with animal strength. It is not to be expected of times when "thousands slain unnoticed lie" that men should show any comprehension of intellectual development, of humanity, of law and order, of the ideal conception of life. The only things that gained respect were booty won by the sword, personal courage, and bodily strength. "Life consists in defending one's self." In fact, all that the laborious work of civilisation had reared in many centuries was breaking up: not merely manuscripts and art-treasures, temples and theatres, roads and bridges, aqueducts and marts, but ideals, plans and achievements, intellectual efforts, in fact, the entire sphere of thought and emotion in the ancient world. And yet in this

collapse of all existing things, in the helpless striving after a new, dimly pictured order of things, the Mediterranean spirit, apparently crushed, preserved its vitality and its supremacy. Yet the close historical connection between the nations of the Mediterranean, which, though little apparent, was all the more close, expressed itself from that period onwards so vigorously that it irresistibly drew even foreign elements into its charmed circle. It is remarkable what little tenacity in the preservation of their own individuality is evinced by these foreigners, from the time of their becoming settled on the coasts of the Mediterranean. We can certainly trace in this the influence of the mild climate, the more effeminate way of living, as compared with previous times, the charm of the Southern women, the more frequent indulgence in wine; again, the number of the immigrants may have been small in comparison with the original population: but the fact remains that the conquerors, through trade, marriage and other intimate relations, soon experienced an ethnological change, as a result of which the Germanic elements sink into obscurity with astonishing rapidity.

D. THE RISE OF THE ROMANCE NATIONS

ON the other hand, the influence of the Roman civilisation developed irresistible strength in the mixture of races. This had appeared much earlier (we may recall the Romanising of Africa and Dacia by colonists and soldiers), and was especially remarkable now in Italy and the western countries. In the Pyrenæan peninsula, after the West Goths in the third century of their rule had ~~lost~~ ^{changed} their nationality by intermarriage with the natives, the Spaniards arose, in whom, in spite of liberal mixture with Celtiberians, Greeks and Carthaginians, the Romance element was predominant. Similarly in the Apennine peninsula, the Lombards gradually were transformed into the Italians by mixture with the Romans and the relics of the Gothic and Greek population. And even the strongest and most tenacious of the Germanic peoples that came into direct contact with the Romans, the Franks in Gaul, changed and blended with Romans and Gauls into the French, in whom the Celtic element was most prominent and next the Romance, while the Germanic almost disappeared; only the eastern tribes of the Franks, through the support of the hardy Frisians, Saxons and Bajuwarei, preserved their identity and developed it into a German nationality in combination with these tribes. The feeble cohesion of the Germanic tribes, notwithstanding all their natural strength, is shown also by their almost sudden disappearance from the field of history (East Goths after 555, Gepidae after 568, Vandals after 534: for the opposite view, see Lohé's Guanches Hypothesis). They change their religion with a certain facility. With the exception of the orthodox Franks, all the Germanic tribes had adopted Arian Christianity; but as soon as they were settled among the Romans they mostly adopted the Roman religion. This fact presents a striking contrast to the Semites (Jews and Arabs), who preserved their native manners, customs and faith even in dispersion and under unaccustomed circumstances of life. We must, however, bear in mind that the Germanic tribes were in the position of advanced outposts, which shattered the old world like battering-rams and were broken off from the great parent stock by the violence of the impact.

A main reason why the Germanic races were at a disadvantage in the compounding of nations on the Mediterranean, lies in the consideration that the conquered had at their command a well-developed literary language and a rich literature, while the conquerors were badly off in this respect. Writing, indeed, existed among them (Runes), but the knowledge of it was rare, and a written literature was entirely wanting. It is thus comprehensible that, as new conditions demanded a freer use of writing from the Germans, they found it more difficult to express themselves in their own tongue than in the foreign one, in the use of which they could obtain advice and help. Thus a foreign language was already in use for communication at a distance, and it was only a step farther to employ it for oral communication. He who neglects his mother-tongue has lost half his nationality. Superior civilisation proved more powerful than brute strength; and the succeeding generations employed the more developed ancient language all the sooner, as the new one was inadequate for the expressions of a number of ideas, with which the Germans first became acquainted through the Romans. Again, the ancient language was the language of the Church, to whose care and protection all that was left of culture in those rude times had fled: and the Church began then to exert over the simple minds of the Germans a greater spiritual influence than it ever did over the native races of the Mediterranean. Again, language only forms a single link in the chain of influences which are at work in the amalgamation of nations. Although the Graeco-Roman civilisation was buried by the migration of the races under an avalanche of semi-barbarian débris, yet it was not stifled; but here and there, at first in isolated spots, then in numerous places, it broke through with increasing strength and forced its way up to the surface again. Naturally it became impregnated with ~~more~~ the foreign element that covered it, yet it transmitted to them so many of its characteristics that their further development in the direction of a single Mediterranean spirit was accelerated.

E. BYZANTIUM

In the East Roman empire, which survived, though in a diminished form, the storms of the migrations, the Graeco-Roman culture was not exposed to the same destructive influences as in the western countries of the Mediterranean. At least the Balkan peninsula, with its capital, Constantinople, was able for a considerable time to ward off the invasion of the Avars, Bulgarians and Arabs. But it fell a victim to a peculiar internal disintegration. While in the West the crumbling civilisation had fertilised a fresh soil vigorous with life, the East remained externally quite unscathed; but internally, owing to the pressure of the Tatars and the Semites, it was confined to its own limits and broke up in isolation. The old Hellenism, deprived of air and light, had passed into *Byzantinism*. The change was characterised by a remarkable formulation of Christian doctrine, by a perpetually growing opposition to Rome and the Roman Church, especially after the schism and the rise of a despotic form of government which had not previously existed. This development showed a complete divergence from the Mediterranean spirit, and therefore cannot be further traced here (cf. Vol. V.).

G. THE GERMANS AND THE SLAVS ON THE OUTER SIDE

THE other Germanic races that had been forced onward by the great movement of the nations, and from whom eventually the German people emerged, finally established themselves north of the Alps or continued their march further beyond the Baltic and the North Sea; this is not the place to discuss them (cf. Vol. VI.). The physical characteristics of that part of Middle Europe which was occupied by the Teuton races who remained or became Germans definitely determined their historical development in a different direction. These territories are separated from the Mediterranean by the boundary-wall of the Alps, and their great rivers, with one single exception, flow towards the North Sea and the Baltic, which are equally "Mediterranean" seas of sharply defined peculiarities in history, geography, and civilisation. The Germans linked themselves to the North European group. Here they found the surroundings congenial; here they could establish a nucleus of power and develop on a national basis, while immediate contact with the Mediterranean was dangerous (cf. the fate of the Goths, Vandals, Lombards). On similar grounds the Slavs have no relations with the Mediterranean. This continental people, so conspicuously peaceful and agricultural, seemed diligently to avoid the shores of the Mediterranean. In one spot only, at the northeast corner of the Adriatic, members of the Slavonic family, the Chorvates (Croats, Chrowotes), have settled in a dense mass. These became, indeed, skilful seamen through mixture with the old Illyrians, but limited themselves to their own coasts: and as a nation they were too few and in their political development too independent to exercise a predominant influence on the shaping of the life on the Mediterranean. Slavs, indeed, flooded Greece in great masses, but their nation was as little able to gain a firm footing there as the Germanic race in Spain and Italy. They soon were blended with the natives into the modern Greek nation, in which the Hellenic spirit prevailed; and with it they became the prey of the ever narrowing Byzantinism.

H. THE NORMANS AND THE CRUSADES

NEVERTHELESS, a Germanic race once more asserted its vigorous strength in the Mediterranean at a time when national life had already begun to assume the fixed outlines of that form, which has been maintained essentially up to the present day. The appearance of the Normans is the more noteworthy in that they followed a path as yet untrodden by the migrating nations, that is, they came by sea and from the North. The Teutonic population of Scandinavia had, in consequence of the barrenness of their home, at an early period turned their attention to piracy, and thus became the pest of the North. The spirit of adventure, ambition, and the consciousness of physical strength made the Normans no longer content with piracy, but sent them out, always in ships, on lasting conquests. Charles the Great had already been forced to defend his kingdom against the attacks of the Normans: and towards the middle of the ninth century they had established themselves firmly in England and northern France: here Charles III., the Simple, was compelled in 911 formally to surrender all Normandy to them. In the Mediterranean the Normans, sailing

through the Straits of Gibraltar, had as early as the second half of the ninth century appeared as bold pirates, plundering the coasts as far as Greece; but the bold defence of the Arabs and Spaniards had hindered a permanent occupation then. Nevertheless, this enterprising race had by the sixth decade of the eleventh century succeeded in founding a national kingdom in Lower Italy and Sicily, which for a century and a half flourished exceedingly.

The founders of this kingdom had come from Normandy, where the Normans had quickly become christianised, had accepted French customs with the adaptability characteristic of the Teutons, and had changed into a quite distinctive nation. Civilisation could not take from them their love of liberty, their lust for adventure, and their eagerness for action; but since religion and custom forbade Christians to rob and murder, they sought a new field of activity. This they found in the war against Islam. They gradually so extended their campaigns that they reached even the East and carried away with them all the Christian nations of Europe. The movement of the Crusades, a tide of Western nations flowing back towards the East, did not originally start from the Normans, but it is connected with the establishment of their supremacy in Lower Italy. This noteworthy people, in whom the pious enthusiasm and the calm determination of the North was united with the fiery fancy and emotional nature of the South, had on their reception of Christianity given it an enthusiastic and romantic direction. They yearned to visit the places where Christ had lived, taught, and suffered. When the news spread through Europe, chiefly from the Normans, that in those places, which the Mohammedans held, native Christians and western pilgrims were being oppressed, a mood gradually took possession of them which fanned the religious ardour, the ambition, and the rapacity of the Western nations and ultimately brought about the long war of the Christian West with the Mohammedan East. This war, the theatre of which was exclusively the basin of the Mediterranean, and by which the inhabitants of that region were once more thrown into complete confusion, culminated at first in the reconquest of the Holy Land by Christendom and in the spread of Christianity over the known world; but in time the purely religious and moral motives fell into the background to make room for political schemes of aggrandisement. But both these impulses show the power of the reanimated Mediterranean spirit, which, kept in ceaseless movement like waves of the sea, now pressed on from West to East. Its most zealous promoters of the Crusades were the Normans, not as a united people, but in the form of numerous wandering knights and adventurers. Since these bold freelances were accustomed to make a stay in Lower Italy on their voyages to Palestine and back, in order to have a passing encounter with the Arabs, they found ample opportunity there to mix in the various quarrels of the counts and barons, the former Lombard feudal lords and Greeks, and to place at their disposal their swords, which readily leapt from their scabbards. In this way they won much for themselves. First the Arabs were driven out; in 1030 Apulia with its capital, Aversa, appears already as a Norman possession. Soon afterwards the sons of Tancred de Hauteville succeeded in uniting the small Norman lordships in Italy. In 1071 Robert Guiscard was recognised by the papal chair as Duke of Apulia and Calabria, while at the same time his brother Roger ended the Arab rule in Sicily and conquered the whole island.

Meanwhile the great retrograde migration of the Crusades had commenced (1096). Struck by the mighty impact of the Western armies, the Mohammedan house of Seljuk, which had entered on the inheritance of the Arab Kalifs, seemed ready to fall to ruins, as once the Roman empire under the shock of the barbarians. Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine were quickly conquered by the Crusaders, and Western knights created Eastern kingdoms for themselves. Godfrey de Bouillon of Lorraine became King of Jerusalem, the Norman Bohemund of Tarentum, son of Robert Guiscard, became Prince of Antioch, the Provençal Raimond of Toulouse, Prince of Tripoli. By the side of these secular principalities were organised the spiritual knightly orders, the Knights of St. John, the Templars, and the Teutonic order, independent bodies, possessed of great wealth. Yet Western civilisation found no favourable soil in the East, because it adhered rigidly to its religious, romantic, and feudal character and was inclined to little leniency towards the equally rigid racial and social forms of the East. It also found a malicious opponent in the Byzantinism of the Greek population, which opposed the "Latins" with outspoken hostility. Thus, in spite of the first dazzling success, the Western system never took firm root, but was soon itself hard pressed after the Mohammedans had recovered from their first alarm and had found a vigorous ruler in the Sultan Saladin.

It is remarkable that the very same Normans, who in the East were the implacable foes of Islam, not only refrained from oppressing and persecuting their numerous Arabic subjects in their own kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, but treated them with actual consideration, being eager to effect an amalgamation of races. The Arabs of the East had at that time been crushed by Seljuks, Turks, and ~~Arabs~~, or driven back to their original home. The Arabs of Spain and Sicily, on the contrary, had reached a stage of civilisation higher than that attained by almost any part of Europe. And since the fanaticism of these Arabs was not nearly so keen as that of their Eastern co-religionists, their union with the rest of the motley population of Sicily did not seem at all impossible. In fact, it did come about to a certain degree; and if it was not completely successful, the reason lies in the early dissolution of the Norman power, which after extraordinary prosperity succumbed in the war (1194) against the world-monarchy personified in the German imperial House of the Hohenstaufen. From that time the Normans, who were always weak in numbers, disappeared from the Mediterranean without leaving any trace beyond a glorious memory. Their conquerors, the Staufer, as lords of Lower Italy and Sicily, showed consideration to the Arabs and made friendly advances to them; but they also sank into obscurity, and the French and Spanish, who succeeded to their rule in Naples and Sicily, were bent only on driving out the Saracens by force or exterminating them.

Islam wreaked vengeance on Christianity for this loss by preparing a speedy end for the Western power in Asia. After Saladin in 1187 had retaken Jerusalem, all attempts of the Christians to recover it proved fruitless. At the close of the twelfth century the Western powers had to abandon Asia. On the other hand, in the beginning of the thirteenth century a new attempt was made by them to expand in the East, this time at the expense of the Byzantine kingdom. Under the pretext of a crusade, an expedition of Christian knights, whose moving spirit was the Doge of Venice, started straight for Constantinople by sea, cap-

map of the "Countries of the Mediterranean.") The impulse towards expansion is quenched and gives place to one towards the internal improvement of all that concerns the nation, the state, and civilisation. After the struggle between the two conflicting religions, Christianity and Islam, lasting two hundred years, had ended in the exhaustion of both, a silent understanding was arrived at. The subsequent advance of the Turks into Europe presents another aspect in this, religious reasons no longer play the chief part and the invasion of the Turks ethnically exercised but little influence. The West and the East had learnt to know each other. Not only had the long sword of the knight crossed with the scimitar of the Saracen, not only had the Gospel matched itself against the Koran, but Western and Eastern life had come into contact. Thereafter many intellectual threads were spun back and forwards between the two, marking new paths of trade and commerce over the sea. A certain reciprocal appreciation of each other's strength, character, mental abilities, and nature began to assert itself, an appreciation of what each might learn, borrow, or buy from the other.

To this gradually dawning knowledge was joined the conviction that the forcible incorporation of the enemy's territory would be difficult and, even if possible, would perhaps not conduce to the welfare of either. The long-continued hostility between the two halves of the Mediterranean had caused the building of large fleets upon it and had transformed insignificant coast towns, e.g. Pisa, Genoa, Venice, into maritime powers, fleet and merchant navy both required occupation. After the great war had ended, only maritime trade and petty warfare were profitable. In fact, maritime trade on the Mediterranean, which had greatly diminished, owing to the migration of the nations, flourished so splendidly during and after the time of the Crusades that all previous results were eclipsed. This prosperity was accompanied by a rapid growth of national wealth, the exchange of the productions peculiar to the different regions, a refinement in manners, an awakening of the desire for travel and of ardour for research, and a universal enlargement of knowledge. Familiarity with the East and its civilisation, which had almost been lost by the inhabitants of the western Mediterranean, awoke a multitude of new thoughts, which fructified and advanced the development of state, politics, society, and science. This mental change was greatly accelerated by the fact that the West in its new system was in many ways permeated with survivals of old Mediterranean ideas.

On the other side a similar dispersion of Western elements was produced in the East through these causes. Partly as remnants of the Latin state system, partly as colonists and traders, Burgundians, Provençals, Spaniards, Southern Italians, Lombards, Genoese, Venetians, and Illyrians had spread in great numbers over the coasts of Syria, the Ægean and the Black Sea. These outposts of the West were, of course, too weak to exert an ethnical influence on the life of the Eastern nations, yet were strong enough, in union with the native Græco-Slavs and the Turko-Tatars, who were streaming in from the far East, to prevent the formation of marked nationalities. Thus they have contributed towards giving that character to the eastern basin of the Mediterranean which attaches to it at the present day, that of a mechanical medley of race fragments, showing no trace of chemical affinity, and therefore incapable of any of those bonds which have made united nations out of the conglomerate populations of the

West. In the motley mosaic of races in the eastern Mediterranean basin, which makes possible even at the present day an Eastern question, the most diverse and inharmonious patches are formed by the various ethnic groups that invaded the East after the Crusade, and even if most of these sections were torn up again, the Eastern question put forth its first roots into the gaps which could not be filled up naturally. It reaches, therefore, far back into the past; it is not so much a modern force as an ethnographical question unsolved by history.

B. THE RENAISSANCE OF THE MEDITERRANEAN SPIRIT

THE universal interests of mankind, formerly put into the background, partly by the deafening din of arms and partly by a scholasticism, which fettered the intellect, came gradually back to men's minds, occupied their thoughts, and found zealous supporters. That theory of life which had been born when the exploits of Alexander the Great widened the horizon of man, which had assumed a more lasting form under the Roman empire, and, socially purified, had been established by triumphant Christianity upon the moral worth of man as a basis, once more arose. Henceforth the Renaissance, embodying this conception, selects and brings together the best qualities of all previous manifestations in an intellectual new birth. Through this movement the Mediterranean spirit, whose sources had been many, and whose growth had been slow, becoming conscious of itself, was destined to attain unity. The peculiar nature of the Mediterranean spirit finds its purest expression in the Renaissance, which comprises in itself material, moral, and intellectual welfare, the beautiful and the useful, the rights of the state and the citizen, and the free unfolding of the individual. Rejoicing in the power of creation, it passed directly into the wider conception of European civilisation. This accounts for the superiority of European civilisation over the other civilisations of the world and the triumphant manner in which, radiating from the Mediterranean, it has spread over the world. Its progress continues in our own day, and in perfect adaptation to time and place it has grown more ennobling, more enriching, more intense.

II

THE ANCIENT NATIONS OF THE BLACK SEA AND ON THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

By DR. KARL GEORG BRANDIS

1. ASIA MINOR

A. THE GEOGRAPHY OF ASIA MINOR AND ITS HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE

THE great peninsula projecting from the Asiatic continent towards the west has been called Asia Minor (*ἡ μικρὰ Ασία*) since ancient times on account of its connection with Asia. It is divided from Syria and Mesopotamia on the south and the southeast by the Taurus range and its northwestern continuation, the Antitaurus. On the northeast the range of the Paryadres, which follows the south shore of the Black Sea, and on the east the whole Armenian highlands along the upper course of the Euphrates separate it from the Caucasus region. On the north the boundary is the Black Sea, on the west the Aegean. For the most part, Asia Minor consists of a large elevated plateau, stretching from the Taurus Mountains to the mountains running along the southern coast of the Black Sea. Only in the west there extend fertile, well-watered plains between the deeply indented seaboard, full of bays and harbours, and the various ranges on the coast, which form, as it were, the passage to the tableland. In the north the coast of Asia Minor approaches within a few miles of Europe, from which it is separated only by the narrow straits of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, while further southward the numerous islands of every size form a sort of bridge across to Hellas. Thus Asia Minor forms a connecting-link between Asia and Europe, and is influenced by both in its historical development, but as geographically it does not form a perfect unit, it has never attained political or national independence.

B. PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF THE NATIVE AND IMMIGRANT RACES OF ASIA MINOR

(a) *Native Races.*—We meet here from the very first a large number of different tribes. The Mœonians and Lydians dwelt in the country watered by the Hermus; they were bounded on the south first by the Carians and then by the Lycians. In the gorges and valleys of the western Taurus and its spurs lived the Milyæ, Solymi, and especially the Pisidians and Isaurians. The Cilicians possessed the main range of these mountains with the southern ridges, while Cappadocians

and Lycaonians had occupied the tableland northward of the Taurus. Notwithstanding our extremely scanty knowledge of the earliest times, we can notice some shifting of population in this medley of peoples. Thus the name of the Cappadocians and Cappadocia occurs first in the Persian era, before that time these regions as far as the Taurus were held by Tibareni and Moschi, whom we rediscover later as small tribes in the mountains on the coast of Pontus, and still earlier the Cheta, as we shall see, had descended hence into northern Syria. But, taken all in all, these nations always inhabited the same territory and stand out in sharp contrast to the Thracian and Greek tribes, who are known to have been immigrants. They must therefore be reckoned as autochthonous. The close relationship between the tribes is proved most conclusively by similarity in language. In the whole district inhabited by them there are very numerous names of places ending in "ssos" and "nda" (Termessos, Sagalassos; Enoanda, Laranda) and many names of persons agreeing in roots and endings. Formerly attempts were made to assign the nations in Asia Minor partly to the Semitic and partly to the Indo-Germanic stock, so that while some considered the Cappadocians, Lydians, Lycians, and Carians to be Indo-Germans, and the Pisidians, Isaurians, Cilicians to be Semites, others classified them differently; but after the relationship of these nations had become clearer, the conviction has gradually gained ground that in dealing with these inhabitants of Asia Minor we have to deal with a distinct race. But it is not clear at present how far they are connected with the inhabitants of the south slopes of the Caucasus, i.e. the Iberians and Albanians; with those of the mountains of the Pontic coast, i.e. the Tibareni and Moschi, who, as we have seen, in early times extended far over the tableland up to the Taurus; with the Chalybes, who owed their Greek name to their skill in obtaining iron and steel (*χάλυψ*) from the iron ore which lay exposed on the surface of their mountains, or with the numerous other tribes of this region.

Characteristic of many tribes in Asia Minor is the worship of the great Mother of the Gods, Ma, or Ammas, a nature goddess, who has her seat on the mountain tops and takes many titles from them (Dindymene, Idaia, Sipylene, Cybele), and from her proceed all growth and decay in nature as well as all civilisation. She is the protectress of city walls and gates, and wears, therefore, the mural crown. In her honour feasts were celebrated with wild revelry, with dance and crashing music, and in her service priests gashed their bodies, and maidens prostituted themselves. In the great centres of the worship of the Mother of the Gods there were numerous priests and an equal number of sacred slaves. Among the Phrygians, as well as among the Dardani (kindred stocks), the introduction of the service of the Mother of the Gods is connected with the names of their first kings, Midas and Dardanus. This is, however, a sign that this service belonged to the aboriginal inhabitants.

Peculiar also to this entire district are the colossal rock-hewn reliefs, which agree in style, as well as in the fact that the figures thereon represented wear mostly the same costume, namely, a high-peaked cap, short tunic, and pointed shoes. They are found spread over a region extending from the north slopes of the Taurus and the Pisidian lakes to the Halys on the one side and as far as the Aegean Sea on the other side. The figure carved in the living rock near Nymphaeum, on the road from Smyrna to Sardis, representing a warrior with

spear and bow, was famous even in antiquity, and was ascribed to Sesostris: at the present day in Boghas-Kœi and the neighbouring Hujuk, on the right bank of the Halys, directly south of Sinope and east of Aneyra, in a district called Pteria in antiquity, the remains of old city walls and the foundations of large palaces have been discovered, clearly the centre of an ancient civilisation. In Boghas-Kœi, outside the walls, an almost rectangular courtyard was cut in the rocks, the walls of which are covered with reliefs. In one place a long procession of men is on the march; in another place our attention is fixed on a group of seven gods, who stand not on the ground, but on beasts or the tops of mountains or, in one case, on the necks of two men. The costume which we described above belongs to these figures too; but, unfortunately, up till now the hieroglyphic signs accompanying the figures have not been deciphered. Now, it has long been recognised that these monuments, both in style and in the manner of inscription, are very closely connected with those which have been discovered in North Syria. They have been, therefore, called Hethitic or even Cappadocian, according as their origin was assumed to be in North Syria, where demonstrably the Cheta (Hethites, or Hittites) once had a powerful kingdom, or in Cappadocia, where Boghas-Kœi is situated. Whatever name is given to them, one thing is clear, that they are not derived from one people, by whom, either in friendly intercourse or through warlike conquests, they were spread over the whole region; their wide dissemination shows rather that they owe their origin to a homogeneous and related population. The Cheta descended from the eastern edge of the great plateau towards North Syria, where they at first formed a large kingdom and after its downfall many small principalities, until their territories were conquered by the Assyrians. And if the Cheta were not Semites they may very well have been a tribe of Asia Minor, which created spontaneously the above-mentioned peculiar monuments. The influences of Assyrian art on the later works produced by them, both in North Syria and Boghas-Kœi, can be explained in the same way; when they were produced both places were alike subject to the power of the Assyrians.

(b) *Immigrating Tribes.*—In contrast to these peoples, which may be called the peoples of Asia Minor in the proper sense, since as far as our knowledge goes they were always settled there, we find in the northwest and on the entire west coast such tribes as evidently were not indigenous to Asia Minor. To these belong, in the first place, the Thracian tribes, who crossed from their European mother-country over the Bosphorus and Hellespont and pressed on from the regions which skirt these straits gradually eastward. This did not certainly take place at any one time; in the course of a long period new bands kept coming into Asia Minor from Thrace, driven either by the scarcity of food, resulting from over-population, or by the onward pressure of tribes from the North and West. Though we can scarcely identify these migrating masses, and little though we know of the wars of the Thracians with the aboriginal population and of their gradual submission or absorption (the reader should recollect the above-mentioned introduction of the worship of the Mother of the Gods by the Phrygians and Dardani), one point is established, that the Phrygians, from whom the great stretch of country from the upper stream of the Sangarius to the Pisidian lakes derives its name, the Mysians in the land on the Propontis eastward from Ida and round Olympus,

and, last of all, the Bithymians, who gave their name to the strip of coast on the Black Sea which they occupied, immigrated from Thrace. The ancients were aware of this, conjecturing it from the similar tribal names to be found on both sides of the Propontis.

The worship of Sabazius was universal among the Thracians of Europe and Asia Minor. He is familiar to us in the Greek form of Dionysus, a divinity who rules all animate nature. He was represented as awake in summer and asleep in winter: and, accordingly, the awakening of life in spring was celebrated with orgiastic feasts, while the death of nature was deplored with wild grief. We may also venture to point out that the method of burial in large earthen mounds, the so-called *Tumuli*, seems to have been customary on both shores of the Propontis. From the exploration of such *Tumuli* the astonishing fact has been brought to light that their construction is identical. They consist of several layers—beds of ashes, and burnt earth, containing earthen vessels, animal bones, and sherds, alternating with thick strata of earth and broken stone. This method of interment agrees with that which Herodotus describes as Thracian, but differs from that in use in Lycia, the district of the Halys, and other places, where the dead are generally buried in rock tombs.

The Trojans, who inhabited the country along the Propontis on the north slopes of the Ida range, belong to this Phrygo-Thracian group. If the different layers or towns discovered by Schliemann at Troy really belong to one and the same population, they must have immigrated at a very early epoch, probably as early as 3000 B.C. Though they appear scarcely otherwise in history, they are familiar to every one through the Homeric poems, in which their long war with the Greeks and the final destruction of their city are told. And even if the fact itself cannot be disputed that a splendid capital was destroyed by Agamemnon, King of Mycenæ, and his followers (see also Vol. I, p. 178), yet it is an isolated event, which can hardly be brought into a strict historical connection. It is clear also from the early settlements on the west coast of this peninsula that relations, not always peaceful and friendly, existed between Greece and Asia Minor at a very early date.

According as the main body of the *Greek* emigrants came from northern, central, or southern Greece, the more northern or the more southern regions of the coast of Asia Minor were their goal. Colonisation certainly did not take place all at once; bands constantly crossed over from the mother-country, which, from its position and natural configuration, pointed to the sea and to emigration as a vent for her population when it became too large for the territory it occupied. Gradually, after centuries of struggles, the land was won from the aboriginal inhabitants. Reminiscences of these wars are still preserved in the Greek legends of the Rape of Briseis, the daughter of Brisa, by Achilles, and the wounding of Telephus of Teuthrania. Sometimes a peaceful union and gradual amalgamation were arrived at, as we hear in many Greek towns on the Asiatic coast of a Carian, Lelegian, or differently named, but in any case native population by the side of the Greek. At last flourishing and powerful communities were formed out of what were certainly small settlements at first.

The process of colonisation had begun even in the Mycenean period. The name Jevanna, given on the Egyptian monuments to the auxiliaries of the Cheta, of whose identity with the Ionians (in Hebrew, Javan) no one will doubt, proves

that in the thirteenth century B.C. not only was the name Ionians firmly established, but that the Greeks settled in Asia Minor had already attained some importance and were known outside their country. The chief goal of the emigrants from northern Greece was the island of Lesbos, from which the Teuthranian and Lydian coast was colonised. Pitane, Elæa, Grynum, Myrina, Cyme, Ægæ, Temnos, and Smyrna on the southern, and Magnesia on the northern foot of Mount Sipylus are Greek towns. The inhabitants of all this district regarded themselves as belonging to one stock, and called themselves Æolians. Different races from central Greece occupied the Lydian and Carian coast from the mouth of the Hermus to the peninsula of Miletus, and here the name "Ionians" was fixed upon the Greek settlers, who entered into a close alliance and became a united state with its religious centre at Panionium, where Poseidon was worshipped. The following were Ionian towns: Clazomenæ, Erythræ, Teos, Lebedos, Colophon, Ephesus, Priene, Myus, Miletus, and in the north, surrounded by Æolian towns, Phœcæa. The most advanced post towards the west was Magnesia on the Maeander. Later in point of time was the settlement of the Darians, who pressed forward from Crete and the southern Cyclades, which they previously had occupied, to the two great island outposts of Asia Minor, Cos and Rhodes, and then to the widely jutting promontories of the mainland itself, Cnidus and Halicarnassus. The league of these Dorian towns had its religious centre in the sanctuary of the Triopian Apollo.

C. THE HISTORY OF ASIA MINOR

(a) *The Oldest Accounts of the Races of Asia Minor.*—The oldest historical information of Asia Minor is to be found in the Egyptian monuments, and dates back to the sixteenth century B.C. Then we discover in the country afterwards called Commagene and Cappadocia the people of the Cheta (Hittites), who pressed victoriously southward and planted themselves firmly in North Syria. Rameses II., King of Egypt, waged a long and bitterly contested war against them, and in the end the kingdom of the Cheta won recognition as a sovereign power. But this kingdom, which held its own against the Pharaohs and extended northward and southward into the upper valley of the Orontes, soon broke up into many small states, several of which were traceable in North Syria as late as the eighth century and were only subjugated by the Assyrians. When the Cheta fought against Rameses II. they were allied with the "Princes of all Lands," who marched to their aid with troops: thus we come to hear of the nations of the Ruka, Dardeny, Masa, Jevanna, Pidasa, and Carcischa, of whom we may take the Ruka to be Lycians; the Dardeny, Dardani; the Jevanna, Ionians; the Carcischa probably Cilicians, while nothing is yet clear about the Masa and Pidasa.

Under the Pharaoh Merneptah (soon after 1280 B.C.) there appeared on the west frontier of Pharaoh's kingdom, together with the Libyans, certain "nations from the countries of the Sea," and these were annihilated in a bloody battle there. Besides the Ruka, who are already known to us, the Akajwascha (Achæans), Turuscha (Tyrrhenes), Schardana (Sardinians from the island of Sardinia), and Schakruscha took part also in this expedition. Under Rameses

III. (about 1200 B.C.) the same incidents recurred. Partly in large, open rowing boats by sea, partly in ox wagons overland through Syria, came an expedition of the Purasat, Takkara, Schakruscha, Danona, Vaschhascha, who were likewise annihilated on land and sea. Of the two last-mentioned groups, the Akawascha, Turuscha, and Schardana were not natives of Asia Minor, of the others, the Ruka, like the Lycians, the Purasat, Takkara, Danona, Schakruscha, and Vaschhascha certainly were such. The felt helmet, adorned with feathers, which was universal among them — a dress which Herodotus ascribes to the Lycians — proves not only their intimate connection with each other, but also their connection with the peoples of southwest Asia Minor. We see, therefore, the nations of Asia Minor in constant movement from the sixteenth to the twelfth century B.C. The Cheta pressed victoriously forward; the Ruka and their comrades deserted their homes, partly as mercenaries and allies of the Cheta, partly as pirates and freebooters. Did the invasion and advance of the Phrygo-Thracian tribes compel the natives to wander forth? In general, these expeditions impress us as undertaken rather for plunder and booty than to procure settlements somewhere for themselves. The enterprise of the Hittites in making conquests outside the borders of the peninsula and founding a kingdom there, gave the example to the people of Asia Minor. All the kingdoms, which were established on this model, were restricted to the more or less limited confines of the peninsula itself. Only Mithradates the Great united with his ancestral kingdom a great part of the north coast of the Black Sea. The attacks made by the "maritime nations," the Ruka and their allies, on Egypt were almost typical of the whole southwest coast of Asia Minor, where Carians, Pisidians, and Cilicians were for centuries notorious for piracy and privateering, even though we hear nothing further of the great allied expeditions against Egypt, which the threatened land resisted effectively only by calling out all its forces.

(b) *Lydia and the State of the Mermnadæ*.—In earlier times no country on the peninsula of Asia Minor played so prominent a part as Lydia, though it is true that in the legends, Phrygia and her kings also enjoyed certain prominence. In Phrygia a Midas and a Gordius reigned alternately, agriculture was early practised, and ants are said to have carried grains of wheat into the mouth of the child Midas, and thus to have foretold his future wealth; and, consequently, his wealth is represented as the fruit of tillage. This close connection of the Phrygian kings with agriculture finds its expression in the story that the deity of the country, Lityenses, who competes with the reapers and scourges the idlers, is given to Midas as a son: Midas is said also to have discovered the flutes used in the worship of the Mother of Gods, whose introduction into Phrygia is referred back to him, since the Phrygians, like all Thracians, particularly loved and eagerly practised music. But real historical knowledge of them is absolutely non-existent. It is only after the rise of the Lydian kingdom that the sources begin to well up more copiously and more clearly; then first we stand on more or less certain historical ground.

The first royal house ruling over Lydia, the Atyadæ, is quite mythical. Then follow kings of the race of the Heraclidæ, and of these we know little more than that they are supposed to have reigned 505 years. During the century immedi-

ately preceding their fall the names of five or six kings have come down to us, i.e. Alyattes, Cadys, Ardys, Meles, Myrsus, and Candaules. More important than these names and the stories of the murder of the one and of the succession of the other, is the fact that Lydia at this time, as also later, was a feudal state, and that under the sovereigns numerous lords ruled in the country, who were the owners of the soil to whom the country population stood in the position of serfs. And since it is expressly told us that one of these lords was conceded immunity from taxation for his district as a reward for his co-operation in raising Ardys to the throne, we may reasonably conclude from this that the other lords had to pay tribute. Besides this, they had not all the same rank; one of them stood next to the king and was also regent in case of the death or disability of the king, and usually held an office like that of the Frankish mayor of the palace, while some others composed a sort of court under the official title of "Friends of the King."

Granted that these landowners played an important part, still we must clearly understand that at an early period a trading and artisan section of the population was prominent by the side of this nobility. In the highly coloured romances of Lydian history which have come down to us through the Greeks, traders often appear, together with innkeepers: and the Lydians are spoken of as the first people who coined money and who were retail merchants and pedlars. Since they were cut off from the coast by the Greek towns, their trade was an overland trade; they were the commercial factors of the civilised countries of the East, and the great and ancient trade route from the Euphrates terminated in their capital. From Sardis the wares of the East reached the sea, passing through the hands of the Greeks. An important industry grew up in Lydia at an early date. Skilfully wrought fabrics and brilliantly coloured garments were made on the looms of the weavers' and in the dyers' shops, and all sorts of ornaments were found in the workshops of the goldsmiths and silversmiths. In Sardis and even in the other towns, which were of small importance as compared with the capital, there resided a trading and manufacturing population, about whose political rights we have no special information. They could be summoned by the king, under exceptional circumstances, to a popular assembly and be asked for their opinion. It is worthy of notice that King Ardys is renowned for the care he devoted to the army. He is said to have raised his cavalry forces to thirty thousand men, and in later times the Lydian cavalry proved formidable to their foes. A new epoch in the history of Lydia opens with Gyges. According to the legends handed down from antiquity, Gyges was originally either a royal spearman, like Artaxerxes, the first Sassanid, or a shepherd, like King David; this thoroughly corresponds to the ideas of the Eastern nations, who like to raise the ancestors of the kingly families from the dust to the highest human power. In reality he sprang from the lordly race of the Mermnadæ, a powerful family in the country. His father, Dascylus, lived in voluntary exile at Sinope. Thence Gyges at the age of eighteen was recalled to the court at Sardis, and soon, as the recognised favourite of the king, was nominated his "Majordomus." By a palace revolution, in which the last Candaules met his death, Gyges won the hand of the royal widow and with it the crown, and defended it successfully in battle (687 B.C.). With Gyges begins a new policy of the Lydian kings; a policy of conquests is entered on,

of which the Greek coast towns were the ultimate object. While the towns of Æolis, with the exception of Mytilene, were agricultural towns and had attained no importance, the Ionian towns, thanks to the fertility of their territory, the excellence of their position, and the activity of their citizens, had developed into important centres of trade and industry. Through their close trade connection with the Phœnicians and the Lydians, who, as we have seen, were in control of the overland trade with the East, they became emporiums for oriental wares, which they sent on further west, together with the products of their own labour. Gyges now attacked these Ionian towns. While Miletus and Smyrna warded off his attack, and the spearmen of Smyrna actually overcame the Lydian cavalry, Colophon, which was renowned for its great riches, was subdued. Even the Troad came under Lydian domination. Gyges showed his successors the way, but he did not himself proceed to further attempts in this direction.

When the great tide of Scythian invasion swept from Asia over the great Russian plain it bore down upon the northern shores of the Black Sea where the people known as the Cimmerians dwelt. These people were closely allied to the Thracians. To Thrace naturally they turned their steps, flying from the terrible Scythian invaders. Their kinsmen in Thrace made common cause with them. The allied forces crossed to Asia as many Thracian tribes had previously done, and the descendants of these Thracian Tribes in Asia Minor joined them and shared their conquests. In Bithynia and in the Troad these Asiatic Thracians had settled. The united forces of Cimmerians and Thracians marched on Phrygia. King Midas, dreading their approach, killed himself, the legend says, by drinking bull's blood. Sinope was next assailed. In a little time the territories conquered marched with the territories of the Assyrian king who had advanced his frontiers to the Halys. On the banks of the Halys was fought the great battle which turned back the tide of Cimmerian invasion from the borders of Assyria. In this contest King Assarhadon won a complete victory and secured the safety of his dominions from the barbarian onset (679 B.C.)

The invaders then turned on Lydia. Gyges in terror implored the aid of the Assyrians. The aid was given on condition that Gyges would do homage to the Assyrian monarch and acknowledge his suzerainty. The Cimmerians and Thracians were repulsed, but Gyges repudiated the suzerainty (660 B.C.). He was then abandoned to his fate by his former allies. The storm soon burst upon his kingdom. This time the barbarians met with little opposition. Gyges fell in battle. His capital, Sardis, surrendered. The hordes of invaders were let loose upon the Greek settlements. Ionia was overrun, Magnesia was destroyed, and the temple of Artemis at Ephesus was burnt, while towns on all sides were given up to plunder and devastation "It was a raid and not a subjugation of the towns," says Herodotus, and his words are true in as far as they apply to the conduct of the invaders after the conquest of Lydia, but the Lydian war itself was in no way a raid, but a regular struggle between organised powers. Besides, the occupation of Lydia was permanent. King followed king no doubt on the Lydian throne. To Gyges succeeded his son Ardys, to him in turn his son Sadyattes. But the Cimmerians held firm hold of their conquests through these two reigns. It was only during the reign of Alyattes, the successor of Sadyattes, that Lydia broke the Cimmerian yoke.

Alyattes freed Lydia and all Asia Minor from the bondage which the barbarians had imposed. Whether the Cimmerians wandered back to their old homes or

sank into servitude in Lydia or were allowed to blend with the inhabitants no one can now say. But with the liberation of Lydia by Alyattes their career as a conquering nation closes, and as such history knows them no more. Nor was this great work the only service which Lydia owed to Alyattes. The son and the grandson of Gyges, shadows of kings, had now and then turned their arms against the Ionian towns, and in turn had besieged Miletus in vain. But Alyattes went to war in grim earnest. For years a worsting struggle went on between the sea city and the military kingdom, until at last, wearied of the struggle, both parties willingly made peace and sealed the peace with a treaty of alliance. The Lydians now destroyed Smyrna and held the coast at three important points. Eastward the course of Alyattes was barred. The Assyrian power reached up to the Halys. The Medes and Babylonians divided between them the great empire of Nineveh which had fallen asunder.

Eastern Asia Minor fell to the Medes. Their power grew and under Cyaxares threatened Lydia. War broke out and lasted for many years. Peace came in a very remarkable manner. On May 28th, 585 B.C., while a battle was actually raging there took place a total eclipse of the sun which Thales of Miletus had foretold. Struck with religious alarm, both sides sued for peace. The rulers of Babylon and Cilicia were appealed to as mediators. The son of Cyaxares and the daughter of Alyattes were united in marriage and all danger from the Medes was now averted from Lydia. Freed from all anxiety on the eastern borders, Alyattes was able to devote his attention in part to the internal organisation of his kingdom and in preparation for wars of aggression which seemed to him inevitable wars of self-defence. For between the Ionian cities and the Lydian kingdom durable peace was, it is believed, impossible. Accordingly Alyattes made up his mind to determine once and for all which power would be supreme in Asia Minor. In the result Lydia emerged victorious and Alyattes was able to hand on to his son the sceptre of a great and flourishing kingdom. The Cimmerian danger had passed. The great Eastern monarchies were friendly, and Lydia held the undisputed Hegemony of the Greeks in Asia Minor.

Under Croesus, who succeeded Alyattes, Lydia reached the most splendid and powerful position. He conquered Ephesus, imposed tribute upon the remaining Greek cities which had not been subjugated by his predecessors, incorporated Phrygia, after the death of the last king, Gordius, into his kingdom, and exercised the supremacy over Bithynia. All too soon misfortunes burst on him. In the year 553 the Persian, Cyrus, revolted against the Median king, Astyages, and made himself Great King in his place. Partly to avenge the fall of his brother-in-law, partly to prevent the dangers threatening him from Persian ambition, Croesus negotiated an alliance with Nabonaid, King of Babylon, and the Pharaoh Amasis. Encouraged by favourable oracles, including one from Delphi, he invaded Cappadocia with a strong army, but was compelled by Cyrus to retreat across the Halys, and then was completely defeated in the valley of the Hermus and besieged in the acropolis of Sardis. This last place of refuge was taken by treachery, and Croesus fell into the hands of the victor (546 B.C.). Thus Lydia became Persian. At the head of the two new provinces (satrapies) were placed noble Persians, whose seats were at Sardis and at Dascylum on the Hellespont.

(c) *The Persian Rule and the Struggles of the Ionians for Independence.*—The greater number of Greek cities in Asia Minor had been first brought

under the Lydian supremacy by Crœsus, but in spite of their being dependent and tributary, they had been kindly treated by the king, who was a friend to the Greeks. Miletus still enjoyed benefits of the treaty of friendship and alliance concluded with Alyattes. The age of the Mermnadæ was by no means an age of decline or decay for the Greek cities, although isolated towns, as Smyrna and Colophon, never or only very slowly recovered from the blow they had suffered through the Lydians. Taken all in all, this was a time of great prosperity.

Attention has already been called to the fact that the Ionian cities as trade centres facilitated communication between the East and the West (cf. above, p. 51). They now begin to send out colonies and found factories. Miletus founded Abydus and Cyzicus on the Hellespont, stages for the journeys to the Black Sea, on the shores of which Milesian colonies soon sprang up everywhere. The grain of the south Russian coast and the fruitful "Hinterland" and the costly skins furnished by countless wild beasts, the good timber that the southern coasts of the Black Sea supplied from their forests, and the valuable metals they drew from their rich veins of ore, the fish that the sea yielded — of all these precious commodities, the Milesians knew how to obtain control in order to establish a prosperous trade. By the side of Miletus the other towns sink into insignificance. Yet Phœcæa is worthy of mention, because in the founding of Lampsacus it was actuated by the importance of the passage of the Bosphorus for trade (just as Miletus was when it founded Abydus and Cyzicus), and opened up for itself a traffic with the farthest West by founding Massalia, the still flourishing Marseilles. Towards the south also brisk trade relations with Egypt existed at this time. King Amasis actually conceded the town of Naucratis, as an emporium to the Greeks, including the Milesians and other states of Asia Minor, and allowed them to live there with their own civic rights and under their own local magistrates. This activity in trade was paralleled by a lively activity in the intellectual sphere. Marble was here first worked artistically and the foundation laid for the great development of Greek sculpture. Lyric poetry was perfected, and here arose the first philosophers, who systematised the result of their speculations.

But there was a dark side also to this bright picture. The many struggles and wars between separate cities (thus Samos and Priene, Chios and Erythræe carried on a long blood-feud, and Magnesia and Ephesus were at war) had their counterpart in long and violent party struggles in the communities. The original form of government, a monarchy, had been changed to an oligarchy, composed of the nobility. The citizens, becoming conscious of their power through industry and prosperity, began to struggle for political equality and for a share in the municipal government. These struggles did not, indeed, always lead to the establishment of a democracy, and often an individual forced his way into power. Such men, whom we come across in many cities of Asia Minor, were called by the Greeks Tyrants. The result of these numerous wars of city against city and of the violent party struggles had already been seen in the case of the Lydian conquests; the Greek cities did not combine in one league, but each city acted for itself and was thus from its isolation more easily overpowered. The same spectacle was repeated when the Persian danger threatened. The Æolians and Ionians, it is true, united at first in order to submit to Cyrus on the same conditions as formerly they submitted to the Lydian kings. But Miletus had stood aloof and had been able by timely measures to maintain the privileged

position which she had formerly held under the Mermnadæ. Cyrus rejected the preferred terms. The Greek cities turned in a body to Sparta for help and prepared to offer a determined resistance. Sparta declined to help them, and we hear nothing further of common action and common resistance. After Priene and Magnesia on the Maeander, which had rendered help in the ill-starred revolt of the Lydians under Pactyas, had been conquered and severely punished, the remaining states were subdued one by one. Thus the whole Greek coast—the Dorian cities surrendered mostly without resistance—became subject to Persia, and was forced not only to pay tribute, but to furnish soldiers and obey the tyrants appointed by the great king. When, finally, Caria and Lydia had been conquered by the Persian satrap, Harpagus, the whole of Asia Minor belonged to the Persian kingdom. Of the islands, Chios and Lesbos submitted; Samos, where Polycrates was tyrant, had to be conquered later and its strong fortress stormed. Cilicia retained its own rulers, but owned the suzerainty of Persia.

During the Persian rule Asia Minor has naturally no independent history. But the burdens which the great king laid on the peninsula could not have been very heavy. Apart from the revolt of the Ionians, we hear of no risings. The insurrections against the satraps in the fourth century B.C. originated with ambitious governors, desirous of independent rule, not with a people struggling to throw off an oppressive yoke. On the other hand, it must be emphasised that the wise institutions which Darius, the son of Hysdaspes, inaugurated were beneficial to Asia Minor. He divided his extensive realm into twenty satrapies, of which four or five, if we include the inhabitants of the ranges on the Pontic coast, as the Moschi, Tibareni, Macroni, Mossynoei, etc., were in Asia Minor. Thus Ionia with Caria, Lycia, and Pamphylyia formed one, Mysia and Lydia the second, the Hellespont, Phrygia and Bithynia the third, and Cilicia alone the fourth.

This division was especially important for the levying of troops and the raising of taxes, to which each satrapy had to contribute a fixed sum. This amounted in the case of Ionia, Caria, and Lycia to 400 talents of silver; Mysia and Lydia paid 500; the Hellespont and Phrygia only 360. But to this must necessarily be added the expenses, which had to be separately defrayed, of feeding the troops which were permanently stationed there as well as those temporarily marching through the country, and the cost of keeping up the governor's court. It was, however, surely a boon for the subjects that their taxes to the great king were definitely assessed, since formerly under the name of presents, irregular imposts had been exacted. The establishment of the royal post-road was bound to benefit Asia Minor. It is true that from the earliest times a caravan route ran from Sardis across the Halys, skirting the north of the Lycaonian salt desert to the Euphrates, and from thence further to the east; but Darius placed everywhere at fixed intervals along this road stations with inns, and placed watch-towers at river fords, mountain passes, or where else such might be necessary. By this means the security of travellers was considerably increased: and even if his first thought was for the royal service and for a rapid and certain communication between Sardis and Susa, the greater security which he thus ensured must have redounded to the good of his subjects. At the same time Darius established a uniform coinage throughout the empire: but while the striking of gold coins was made a royal monopoly, rulers and cities,

especially the Greek cities, were allowed to strike silver coins of any standard and with their own legend. The royal coins were of gold and silver after the Lydian system, but according to Babylonian weights. For the numerous inhabitants of Asia Minor who traded directly with the East this was a beneficial institution. The Persians did not interfere to disturb the uses and customs of their subjects: as long as they paid their taxes and remained quiet, the Phrygians might sacrifice to their Sabazius, and the others might hold feasts to their Mother of the Gods without fear of Persian restraint.

But a state of affairs which nations accustomed to absolute monarchy considered endurable, perhaps even pleasant, produced discontent at first and soon open disaffection among the freedom-loving Greeks. It is true they could realise the advantages of a uniform currency and of a safe royal highway, and they had already paid tribute under Crœsus: but the levies of troops and ships which they had been forced to furnish to Cyrus for the subjugation of Lycia and in larger numbers to Darius for the expedition against the Scythians were especially resented by them. There was the additional circumstance that men who were friendly to Persia had been placed by the great king as tyrants in their midst. Owing to this, the active corporate life which had flourished, in Ionia especially, must have been seriously checked: for the authority of these tyrants depended on Persia, and their anxiety to win the favour and good graces of the great king must have been greater than their eagerness to rule to the satisfaction of their fellow-citizens. The discontent that was fermenting among the Greeks at that time is shown by isolated facts that have come down to us about the progress of Darius' Scythian campaign. The Greek towns had been obliged to send ships and to equip a strong fleet; this fleet sailed in advance of the army which was marching through Thrace, entered the mouth of the Danube and constructed a bridge there for the land forces. The campaign against the Scythians across the Danube failed; after heavy losses Darius returned unsuccessful to the Danube; but the news of his precarious position had reached there before him. Miltiades, prince of the Chersonese, proposed to break down the bridge and to use this opportunity of liberating Ionia; but the tyrant of Miletus, Histiaus, called attention to the fact that with the overthrow of the king the power of the tyrants would be ended. That put the matter into a new light to the tyrants present there, who had been inclined to vote with Miltiades: they allowed the bridge to stand, and thereby rescued the king and the remnants of his army. Nevertheless, single detachments of the fleet had already started homewards, and Byzantium and Chalcedon revolted when the tidings of the disastrous result of the Scythian expedition reached them. The people of Chalcedon broke down the bridge thrown over the Bosphorus so that Darius had to cross from Sestos to Asia by ship. Yet the fragments of the army which the king had rescued from the Scythians were still so large that the insurgent cities were reconquered and punished (513 B.C.).

Soon after, however, events occurred which were destined to show more clearly the prevalent feeling among the Greeks. In the year 500 B.C. aristocrats from Naxos, who had been exiled by the people, came to Miletus, where, in the absence of Histiaus, who was staying at the court of Susa, Aristagoras, his son-in-law, was conducting the government. He received the Naxians and promised to reinstate them. He laid a suitable plan before Artaphernes, the

satrap of Sardis, offered to bear the costs himself, and asked for approval of his scheme. The cities then were ordered by Artaphernes to send ships and foot-soldiers, but Megabates, and not Aristagoras, as he hoped, was appointed commander of the fleet and of the army against Miletus. The expedition failed completely; the Naxians successfully defended themselves for four months against all attacks, so that at last Megabates withdrew without effecting anything. But Aristagoras could not make good the expenses of the war, as he had promised, and feared that he would be deposed from his office on account of a quarrel with Megabates, a near relation of the king. In this difficult position he received a message from his father-in-law, Histiaeus, urging him to revolt from the king. Aristagoras, therefore, determined on revolt and found at Miletus support for the scheme. Not only Miletus, however, where Aristagoras resigned his tyranny and restored the democratic constitution, revolted from the great king; the fleet, too, which was still assembled after the disastrous result of the Naxos expedition, joined in the revolt. Many cities expelled their tyrants and made common cause with Miletus: each chose *strategoi* (generals) as supreme officials to constitute a supreme council of war.

At first the common cause seemed to meet with success; Eretria sent five ships, Athens twenty, to their assistance. In the spring of 499 B.C. the allies advanced to Sardis, took the city without, however, being able to capture the citadel held by Artaphernes, and burnt the greater part of it. In this conflagration the temple of Cybele, goddess of the country, was destroyed: this so embittered the inhabitants that they rose themselves against the Greeks and forced them to withdraw. In the meantime, the Persian generals had assembled: they came up with the army of the allies at Ephesus as it was retiring from Sardis and inflicted on them a crushing defeat. On the other hand, the fleet of the allies ruled the sea and induced the Greek towns on the Hellespont and Caria to revolt. Such successes, however, were not lasting, as the Persian commanders with superior forces soon reconquered the towns on the Hellespont and defeated the Carians at Labranda. Aristagoras, who had at first been the soul of the enterprise, became so discouraged that, seeking safety for his person, he fled to Thrace, where he was murdered by the Edonians. "He was not a magnanimous man," Herodotus says: and clearly when he fanned the flame of revolt and made himself its leader he had let himself be swayed by selfish motives. When, therefore, the fleet of the allies with its three hundred and fifty sail was annihilated by the Persians at Lade (497 B.C.) the united resistance of the Greeks was crushed. Each town was reconquered separately. Miletus alone held out against siege and assault until it, too, had to surrender after an heroic resistance 494 (B.C.). By this the Persian domination was everywhere re-established, and the hated tyrants ruled in every Greek city as representatives of the great king.

But the war which soon afterwards the Greek mother-country had to wage against Darius and Xerxes in the cause of its own freedom was destined also to free the settlements of Asia Minor eventually from the Persian yoke. Marathon, Salamis, Plataea will ever remain as the greatest deeds of heroism in this Greek struggle. And just as at Plataea the Persian army was annihilated and the Persian camp stormed, so at the same time, perhaps on the same day, the Persian fleet was shattered at Mycale on the coast of Asia Minor by the confederates. This was the signal for the small Greek towns of Asia Minor to make common cause with

the mother-country and to revolt from the Persian king. The confederacy of Delos was then formed with Athens as the chosen head; its place of meeting was at first Delos, afterwards Athens, and its members pledged themselves, while completely retaining their autonomy, to provide ships and crews and to furnish money contributions in order to found a war treasury. The members of the new league prosecuted the war against Persia, and under the protection of this aspiring and rapidly powerful league the small Greek towns of Asia Minor were secure from Persian attacks and from Persian vengeance for their revolt. The war continued for many years. The Persian garrisons were driven out of the towns of the Hellespont and from the Thracian coast: a large Persian fleet, which had sought protection from the advancing fleet of the confederates in the mouth of the Erymanthos, a river in Pamphylia, with the object also of effecting a juncture with the Persian army, was annihilated, together with the army, by the bold attack of Cimon (467 or in the summer of 465 B.C.), and the camp of the Persians was stormed. Elsewhere, too, where the Asiatics met the Greeks they were worsted. Although no regular peace was concluded, yet from about 449 B.C. hostilities ceased on both sides. In fact, the Greek towns in Asia Minor enjoyed liberty and governed themselves.

They were, however, destined to come once more under the Persian rule. When the Peloponnesian war had ended, disastrously for Athens, the maritime power and the naval supremacy of Athens were also utterly destroyed. Even though a virtual empire had been formed out of the original Hegemony of Athens in the confederacy of Delos, which often pressed heavily on the individual members of the league and punished every attempt at secession, one point to be recognised is that Athens thoroughly fulfilled the obligation she incurred of protecting Greek towns against the encroachments and attacks of the barbarians. This Hellenic policy in the best sense was not followed by Athens' rival, Sparta. After the last of the treaties concluded during the course of the Peloponnesian war between Sparta and the great king (411 B.C.), the small Greek towns of Asia Minor are said to have been once more subject to Persia. The policy here expressed was, it is true, abandoned by Lysander, in whose mind the plan was formed of making Sparta a naval power and of calling into existence a Spartan maritime empire. He was bound, therefore, to break the treaty with the great king and either to protect the Greek towns in Asia Minor from the Persians or to free them from the Persian yoke, if they already bore it. After the fall of Athens, Lysander was in Asia Minor, wherever he could, he abolished the democratic constitutions in the cities and established oligarchies, consisting of men of Lacedaemonian sympathies. He also entrusted places of strategic importance to Spartan Harmosts, without being disturbed in his plans by the Persian commander-in-chief, Cyrus, the brother of the great king, who soon afterwards marched over the Taurus in open revolt to put himself in his brother's place. But when Lysander was recalled and his successors in command, Thimbron, Dercyllidas, and King Agesilaus, continued his policy, it came to open war between them and the Persian satraps, Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes, the successor of Cyrus, who had fallen at Cunaxa. Marauding incursions of the Spartans into the territory of the satrapies, battles without any decisive results, alternated with armistices and negotiations between the two parties, which turned on the liberation of the Greeks in Asia Minor from Persian rule. A crisis

was brought about by the sea-fight at Cnidus (394 B.C.), in which the Spartan fleet was defeated, and to a large extent destroyed, by the Athenian Conon, who commanded on the Persian side. Not merely did Sparta's naval supremacy receive a severe blow, but more friendly relations between Athens and Persia were brought about by Conon. With Persian money the long walls of Athens were rebuilt; and, owing to Conon's appearance on the coast of Asia Minor, many towns went over to the Athenians from the Spartans. Sparta saw itself compelled to abandon Lysander's policy of establishing a naval empire and to make overtures to the great king. Through the agency of Antalcidas, the shameful peace which bears his name was concluded. In this the small Greek towns in Asia Minor were surrendered to the Persians and once more made subject to their authority (387 B.C.). Athens, which had so long been the protector of the Hellenes against the barbarians, was then too weak to change the course of affairs.

(d) *Alexander the Great and his expedition to Asia.*—All Asia Minor was now once more Persian, as before the Ionian revolt. Nothing was changed in the relation of the subjects towards the great king. But under a series of weak monarchs the independence of powerful satraps had grown more pronounced. After the rebellion of Cyrus, in the course of the fourth century, a fresh insurrection of the satraps broke out, which could only be repressed by the treacherous murder of the leaders, Datames and Ariobarzanes. To the slackness of authority and the want of a firm government must be attributed the immediate fall of Asia Minor into the hands of Alexander of Macedonia (see Fig. 1 of the plate facing p. 134), who at last carried out the long-cherished Hellenic hope of an attack on the Persians. After elaborate preparations he crossed the Bosphorus with his army (334 B.C.), completely defeated the army of the satraps in a dashing attack at the Granicus, and rapidly made himself master of Asia Minor, taking Mileius and Halicarnassus, where the Persian garrison offered resistance. This is not the place to relate in detail his unparalleled, victorious career and the founding of his mighty empire (see p. 107, *et seq.*). We may merely indicate his policy in Asia Minor. The division into satrapies remained unaltered, just as the land tax laid on the separate satrapies; the Greek cities were, however, declared free and autonomous and exempted from the payment of tribute.

(e) *The Diadochi (Successors) and the Founding of Independent Kingdoms.*—After the death of Alexander (323 B.C.), the empire which he had held together with so powerful a hand and iron energy threatened to break into pieces, although its continuance seemed secure at first by the selection of his stepbrother Arrhidæus as king under the title of Philip, by the birth of a son and heir, and by the appointment of Perdicæas as regent of the empire. The foremost generals became governors of the provinces and at the same time commanders of the troops stationed or about to be levied in their administrative districts. In these large military commands lay the germs of endless quarrels and of the final dissolution of the empire.

Alexander, indeed, understood how to check the ambition and jealousy of his generals by personal influence, but after his death the governor of every province

bestirred himself immediately to raise a trustworthy army, by which he might make himself as independent as possible of the imperial power and might carry out his own ambitious designs without regard for the welfare and prosperity of the whole. This naturally furnished the ground of many disputes. The scene of these "wars of the Successors" was Asia Minor.

Antigonus was sent thither from Babylon as governor of Greater Phrygia, Leonnatus went to Hellespontine Phrygia, Eumenes to Cappadocia, Asandros to Caria, Menander to Lydia, and Philotas to Cilicia. While the others all went to provinces long since subdued, Eumenes had first to conquer his province. The Cappadocians, whose land had hardly been touched by Alexander himself had never reconciled themselves to the Macedonian rulers placed over them, and had actually set a native noble, by name Ariarathes, at the head of affairs. He being a clever, enterprising man, had extended his rule over the whole of Cappadocia, to which Pontus then belonged, and maintained it with the help of a strong army of fifteen thousand horsemen and thirty thousand foot-soldiers. According to the commands of the regent of the empire, Antigonus and Leonnatus were to help Eumenes in expelling Ariarathes: but neither obeyed orders. Perdiccas, therefore, was obliged to march against Cappadocia with the imperial army. Ariarathes was defeated, taken prisoner, and crucified, and Eumenes received the country as his province. The nephew of Ariarathes, his namesake, saved his life by flight into Armenia, whence at a later period he came back to influence the destinies of his fatherland.

Leonnatus had in the interval aided Antipater, governor of Macedonia, in his struggle against the Hellenes, and had lost his life in the campaign; and the rebellion of Antigonus gave the regent cause for marching against him; but instead of personally justifying his conduct, according to the summons that had been sent him, Antigonus fled to Antipater in Europe and effected there an alliance against Perdiccas, in which Ptolemy also, the governor of Egypt, took a part. In the war that then broke out Perdiccas met his fate in Egypt, and Antipater became regent of the empire in his stead. Antigonus received back the province of Greater Phrygia, from which he had fled, and was given the supreme command of the imperial army with the task of carrying on the war against Eumenes, who had been on the side of Perdiccas and had successfully held his own against Antipater and Craterus. Eumenes was defeated in the open field, but he successfully defended himself in the steep mountain fortress of Nora against Antigonus, escaped, and in a short time assembled a new army, with which he conquered Cilicia and Phœnicia and finally crossed the Euphrates, in order to bring the governors of the Eastern provinces over to his side. At last, in the year 316 B.C., after many battles he fell, through the treachery of his picked troops, into the hands of Antigonus, who had him put to death. Previously to this and immediately after the death of Antipater (319 B.C.), who had appointed Polyperchon as his successor and regent of the empire, Antigonus had renounced obedience to the new regent, had driven out the governors of Hellespontine Phrygia and Lydia, who were on the side of Polyperchon, and had given their satrapies to men of his own party. Now, after the death of Eumenes, he was ruler of all Asia, from the upper provinces of which he returned to Asia Minor with enormous treasure.

But the great power and ascendancy of Antigonus produced a hostile coali-

tion of the other governors. These were Cassander, the son of Antipater, who meantime had driven Polyperchon out of Macedonia; Ptolemy, Lysimachus, who in the year 323 had received Thrace as a province, and after subduing the warlike, freedom-loving mountain tribes, had founded for himself an important state; and, lastly, Seleucus, who, driven from his satrapy of Babylon by Antigonus, had fled to Ptolemy in Egypt. Antigonus refused their request to divide the satrapies equally; so wars resulted, which dragged on with changing fortunes and some interruptions from 315 to 301. In these the last members of the royal family, i.e. Alexander's posthumous son, who was called after him, and his illegitimate son Heracles, met their death. The rulers, therefore, placed the royal diadem on their own heads and assumed the title of kings (306 B.C.). Antigonus retained his power, and Asia Minor remained his choicest possession until he succumbed to the last mighty onslaught of his enemies and was killed at the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia (301 B.C.). There is no sign of lasting institutions or of a government bringing blessings to its subjects in this disturbed period of new and constantly growing armaments. Only the Greek cities of Asia Minor enjoyed peculiar consideration and retained their self-government and immunity from taxation. After the death of Antigonus there were four kingdoms in existence — Egypt, under Ptolemy; Thrace, under Lysimachus; Macedonia and Greece, under Cassander, and Syria, under Seleucus. Asia Minor was divided between Lysimachus and Seleucus, who had taken the most important share in the overthrow of Antigonus. Both remained in possession of the portion that fell to them, notwithstanding that Demetrius Poliorcetes, the son of Antigonus (see Fig. 2 of the plate facing p. 134), made numerous attempts to reconquer his father's realm. Lysimachus was defeated and killed at Corupedium, 281, in a battle against Seleucus, to whom as victor Asia Minor justly fell. During the immediately succeeding period the line of Seleucus are in the ascendancy and possess, indeed, the greatest power as far as extent of territory goes; but they are no longer sole rulers, as once Antigonus was.

In the confusion in which Asia Minor was involved after the death of Alexander, new states had gradually been developed there, which, growing into greater power, stamped their mark on the whole subsequent period. After the dissolution of the Lydian dominion we find on the soil of Asia Minor for the first, and indeed for the last time, states with a separate history and a separate policy, in complete independence of any great political power whose capital and centre of gravity lay outside the peninsula.

Ariarathes, the nephew and adopted son of the Ariarathes, whom Perdiccas had crucified at the time when Antigonus was waging his disastrous war against the allied kings (see above, p. 60), had returned to Cappadocia from Armenia, and, supported by the good will of the population, which had never grown accustomed to the Macedonian rule, entered upon the heritage of his father. His attempt was favoured by events in the immediate neighbourhood. Mithradates, the son of the Mithradates, who had killed Datames in the great rebellion of the satraps and had betrayed his own father Ariobarzanes, had after much aimless wandering entered at last into the service of Antigonus merely to be killed by him. His son, who bore the same name, was threatened with the same fate, but being warned by Demetrius Poliorcetes, fled to Paphlagonia. There he was able to occupy the town of Cimiata in the gorges of the Olgassys, which he surrounded

with strong walls, and in concert with Ariarathes summoned the Paphlagonians and the inhabitants of the north coast to arms. The governor of Antigonus had to give way to the two; and when, after the battle of Ipsus, the two victors, Lysimachus and Seleucus, turned their attention to the subjugation of these outlying districts, it was too late. An army of Seleucus was totally defeated in Cappadocia, and Mithradates was able to hold his own in the North. Later, after the death of Lysimachus and the invasion of the Gauls, and during the continuous wars of the Seleucidæ, both in and outside Asia Minor, no more thought was entertained of their subjugation. Thus Ariarathes created an independent kingdom in Cappadocia, with which he united Cataonia: and Mithradates, who received the name of Ktistes (the Founder), founded a kingdom in the valleys of the Amnias and Iris, which, situated on the Pontus Euxinus (Black Sea), came gradually for brevity to be called Pontus. The rulers of both territories naturally styled themselves kings.

In the Northwest new states grew up. Bithynia had been ruled in Persian times by princes of its own, who recognised the suzerainty of the Great King and were subject to his satraps, even though they often enough disobeyed them. Alexander freed Bithynia from the Persian domination, but apparently left the princely families in possession of their hereditary power; the Macedonian governor of Hellespontine Phrygia, Calas, was appointed to complete their subjection. But the Bithynian prince, Bas, repelled his attack in the open field, and his son Zipoites succeeded during the wars of "the Successors" in maintaining and even in extending his hereditary position. Zipoites is the first who styled himself king; this must have happened in 297 B.C. after a victory over Lysimachus, since the era of the Bithynian kings begins with the autumn of 297. He also maintained his position against the successor of Antiochus, Seleucus, who had sent his general, Patrocles, to force Bithynia to submission. In any case, after this Bithynia finally entered the ranks of independent states. Zipoites was able to bequeath to his son Nicomedes a realm which towards the East included the Greek towns of Tion and Cieros.

About this time there arose an independent state in the valley of the Caicus, on the borders of Bithynia. At the outbreak of the war with Seleucus, Philetærus had abandoned Lysimachus, whose citadel and treasures he was guarding at Pergamus, and had gone over to Seleucus. When the latter was soon afterwards murdered he won the gratitude of Antiochus by sending him the body of his father, held Pergamus, and succeeded in bringing the whole valley of the Caicus as far as the sea under his dominion, and thus laid the foundations of the kingdom of Pergamus.

Once more a race of invaders became prominent in Asia Minor and exercised an important influence on the conditions of the country. Just as previously, at the time of the Mermnadæ, Cimmerians, combined with Thracian hordes, had crossed over into Asia Minor and had long scoured the land, plundering and robbing, so now the Gauls appeared (see p. 52). They had before this made inroads into Thrace and Macedonia: now (277 B.C.), Nicomedes, who was contesting his inheritance with his brothers, took a Gallic army under Leonnorius into his pay and by their aid subdued Bithynia. At the same time a second Gallic force under Lutarius crossed the Hellespont, joined the force under Leonnorius, which now was again free, and, both combined, raided the fields of

Asia Minor and burned the towns. Antiochus, in order to protect, at any rate, his own part of Asia Minor from the Gallic pillagers, marched across the Taurus. A pitched battle was fought between him and the Gauls. In overwhelming force — so ran the account of the fight — the “Galatians” confronted the king in a dense phalanx, twenty-four ranks deep, with ten thousand horsemen on each wing. From the centre of the line of battle eighty four-horse chariots, armed with scythes, and twice as many two-horse war chariots were to charge. It may easily be conceived that the king’s courage almost failed him at the sight of this formidable multitude, especially since the greater part of his inferior army consisted of peltasts and other light-armed troops. He even wished to make terms, but one of his generals encouraged him and devised a plan of battle for him. The sixteen elephants which the king had with him were driven headlong against the enemy; the enemy’s horses, which had never seen an elephant, took fright, galloped in wild rout back on the ranks, and caused universal confusion. The overthrow of the Gauls was complete.

This victory checked the wandering of the Gauls, in so far that they were driven back to the eastern part of Phrygia on both sides of the Halys and restricted to a region, to which they gave their name permanently. Here in *Galatia* they founded their capital, Ancyra, which attained later great prosperity, and at the present day as Angora has taken new life through the construction of the Anatolian Railway. Here they gradually obtained secure settlements and lived, mixed with the natives, without abandoning their language, habits, or constitution, under twelve tetrarchs, each of whom belonged to one of the four cantons of their three tribes (Trokmeri, Tolistoboi, and Tektosagi), and under a council consisting of three hundred members. Often enough, starting from here as mercenaries of the rival princes, they helped to decide the destinies of the peninsula. For, unfortunately, there was no prosperous development in Asia Minor even after the conquest of the Gauls by Antiochus. In the many wars between Egypt and Syria, which led to the occupation of the coast of Caria and Lycia by the Ptolemies, then in the long, bloody war between the brothers Seleucus Callinicus and Antiochus Hierax, sons of Antiochus Theos, the whole west coast and the central and southern districts, Caria, Phrygia, Lycia, and Cilicia, were at one time in the hands of Callinicus, at another of Hierax. No wonder that the Gauls, too, reappeared in this confusion, and after inflicting a crushing blow on Callinicus in the interest of Hierax, once more assumed a position which threatened danger. Once more they laid waste the fields; and their neighbours, to secure peace from them, were forced to pay tribute. Even Antiochus Hierax could not secure immunity in any other way.

The credit of averting the new danger of the Gauls belongs to the princes of Pergamus. After Eumenes I., the successor of Philetærus, had defeated Antiochus I. at Sardis in 262 the permanence of their rule was secured. The disturbed times gave an opportunity for ~~strengthening~~ and extending it. Attalus I. (241-197), the son and successor of Eumenes, had brought his name into history by an action which conferred on him lasting fame in the eyes of his contemporaries and of posterity. He refused to pay to the Gauls the customary tribute and faced their consequent invasion in a battle, where he completely defeated them. By this means he greatly contributed towards ending their raids and confining them to their own territory. On account of this splendid achievement

Attalus was honoured by the towns and princes who were saved by him from the Gallic danger, and he adorned himself with the royal diadem. Eumenes II. dedicated to him an imposing monument, an altar to Zeus, standing on a massive pedestal, round the sides of which ran reliefs, which glorified for all time the victory of Attalus over the Gauls under the representation of the battle of the gods with the giants. (See the plate "Acropolis of Pergamus" at p. 67). We are indebted to Karl Humann for the excavation of this altar and for sending its reliefs to Berlin.

Attalus I. not only permanently secured his realm, but extended it also by a war with Antiochus Hierax, who after long disputes with his brother Seleucus Callinicus had finally withdrawn and held Asia Minor north of the Taurus, so far as it was distinctly Seleucid. Hierax was defeated at Coloe, in the neighbourhood of Sardis, and compelled to fly from Asia Minor, and Seleucid Asia Minor fell into the hands of Attalus. But the Seleucidæ were destined once more to establish their power in the peninsula, and, as it seemed, more firmly than ever. Achæus, the general of Seleucus, retook from Attalus the territory he had recently conquered, but could not resist the temptation of founding a separate state and of placing the kingly diadem on his own head during the confusion which prevailed in Syria after the death of Seleucus. This kingdom, severed from the main Seleucid state, lasted some years until Antiochus III., who had restored his authority in his own kingdom by a successful war against insurgent satraps, felt himself sufficiently strong to deprive Achæus also of his sovereignty. Achæus, being beaten, shut himself up in Sardis and held out a considerable time, but was eventually murdered by traitors. Thus Antiochus III. reunited a large part of Asia Minor to his own main territory (214 B.C.); and in other respects his attempts were not unsuccessful. He brought the possessions of the Ptolemies on the Syro-Phoenician coast under his sway and took the southwest coast of Asia Minor, which had been Egyptian for many years.

From this period dates a letter of the king to his governor at Eriza in South Phrygia, which has been preserved for us in an inscription; this gives us a slight, and yet, considering the paucity of our sources of information, a very welcome glimpse into the internal administration. The Seleucid kingdom, as the Persian, was divided into satrapies: we do not know how many of these were included in Asia Minor. But if Eriza was the capital of a satrapy, Phrygia, at any rate, seems to have been divided into two; for the capital would hardly have been situated in the farthest south of the country if it did not form two circles of administration, one of which comprised the northern, the other the southern part. By the side of the worship of the native gods, which naturally remained fixed, a similar worship of the king and the queen was introduced; for both there was in each satrapy one high priest, and sacrifices were offered to both, just as two hundred years later in the provinces high priests were appointed for the Roman emperor.

But Antiochus III. did not rest content with these acquisitions. It was not enough that he had brought even Greek towns on the western coast of Asia Minor into his power (the free city of Rhodes, a naval power, as well as Pergamus, confronted him and actually protected some towns from him), he aimed at Europe also and laid claims to Thrace on the ground that it was by right a possession of the Seleucidæ, owing to the defeat of Lysimachus by Seleucus.

He had already become master of the town of Sestus, and had made Lysimachea, which he restored, the headquarters of his army and the capital of a province of Thrace that was still to be conquered, when he became involved in a war with Rome. Rome, which had only just declared all Greeks to be free at the end of the second Macedonian war, could naturally not tolerate the attacks of Antiochus. It was bound to recognise a *casus belli* in the reception of its deadly foe, Hannibal, by Antiochus, as well as in his alliance with its old enemies, the *Ætolians*, and the coalition of all the opponents of Rome, which Hannibal had diligently promoted. Then, too, its allies, Rhodes and the hard-beset Pergamus, had eagerly begged for help and most pressingly urged the commencement of hostilities. The attempt of the king to meet the Romans in Greece failed completely: the Romans were left victorious there. But instead of vigorously resisting and, if possible, frustrating their attempt to cross into Asia, Antiochus remained inactive. At Magnesia, on the Sipylus, he was completely routed in the year 190 B.C., and the dominion of the Seleucidæ in Asia Minor on this side of the Taurus was ended forever. They only kept the territory on the far side of the Taurus (i.e. practically Cilicia), and did not venture to cross the sea with warships to the west of the mouth of the Calycadnus. Rhodes and Pergamus were splendidly rewarded for their loyalty. The former received the country of Lycia and Caria as far as the Maeander; Pergamus, which had withstood a siege from Antiochus, and whose territory had been ravaged, received Hellespontine Phrygia, Greater Phrygia, Lydia with Sardis and Ephesus, which had been occupied by Antiochus and had not soon enough gone over from him to the Romans, and the part of Cœlia which lay north of the Maeander. The Greek towns of Asia Minor, which had sided with the Romans on the day of the battle of Magnesia, were conceded self-government and also immunity from tribute. Among them we find names famous in history, such as Ilium, Smyrna, Chios, Phœcea, Miletus. And, further, by the despatch of Manlius Volso with an army against the Galatians, who were defeated by him in two battles, the Romans deserved well of Asia Minor; for even after the defeat inflicted on the Galatians by Attalus many towns had still been obliged to pay tribute to them to secure protection from their marauding invasions. The Galatian scourge was now destroyed once for all.

(f) *Rome as the Leading Power in Asia Minor.*—The results of the battle of Magnesia are of the most far-reaching importance. Rome, without appropriating a foot's breadth of land, becomes from this time the foremost power in Asia Minor. It is clear on the face of it that Pergamus and Rhodes, which had long been allies of Rome, and had just been splendidly rewarded, would seek to further their prosperity and power by this connection; but the longer the other states, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Pontus itself, resisted, the less they could avoid the influences of Rome. The power of the Macedonian, Syrian, and Egyptian monarchies over Asia Minor was broken from that day. For at least a century the peninsula enjoyed peace, in which they had had no share since Alexander's death, at first owing to the deadly feuds of the successors (*Diadochi*), and later through the perpetual wars of the kingdoms. What conception Rome had of its rights as the leading power, is clearly shown by the political changes which were introduced into Asia Minor thirty years after the battle of Magnesia. After the third Macedonian war Rome, being dissatisfied

ochus had been conceded to Eumenes. On this ground a quarrel began between the two, which has the greater interest for us because Hannibal for the last time played a part in it, and for the last time uselessly, it is true, tried to form a powerful coalition against Rome. Despite of some successes of Hannibal, Eumenes was not only able to maintain his position, but also to incorporate into his own kingdom the territory conquered by Prusias on the Sangarius. Prusias did not venture to shelter Hannibal when the Romans demanded his surrender; and the great Carthaginian, being abandoned, put an end to his life at Libussa, on a height above the Gulf of Nicomedia. The princes of Pergamus, distinguished as they were for their cleverness and statecraft, were not less renowned for their warm interest in art and science. We have already mentioned the altar to Zeus (see p. 64). On the acropolis, which towers above the city, they reared a rich group of buildings, which, rising in terraces one above the other, crown the summit of the royal citadel. (See the subjoined plate, "The Acropolis of Pergamus.") And in the middle of it, among palaces and temples and public buildings, was the library, which was also a museum, where, besides a rich collection of books, originals, as well as copies of prominent works of the older Greek art, were preserved. In this manner Pergamus became an important centre of civilisation, and will be always mentioned with honour by the side of Alexandria. The princes of Pergamus attracted artists, knew how to set them profitable tasks, and caused Greek art to blossom afresh, and we admire its works, so true to nature, so living and instinct with passion, even to the present day, in the reliefs of the altar of Zeus and in the statues of the so-called fighting and dying Gauls. By the side of Pergamus, Bithynia fell into the background: its princes had gradually subdued the whole territory from the Rhyndaeus and the Mysian Olympus to Heraclea and southward from Heraclea over the Sangarius up to the Paphlagonian frontier. Hellenism, it is true, early made an entrance here, in any case it flourished after Nicomedes I.; and it is true that an increasing number of Greek towns sprang up, such as Nicomedia, founded by Nicomedes I., and Prusa (now Brusso) on Olympus, founded by Prusias. But none of these cities can be compared with Pergamus in glory and importance.

(g) *The Roman Province of Asia, the Kingdom of Pontus, and Mithradates the Great*—Up to this time Rome had had no possessions of her own in Asia Minor. But when Attalus III. of Pergamus died in the year 133 B.C. and made Rome his heir, the Romans accepted the inheritance. Here begins a new phase in the historical development of Asia Minor. It is true that Aristonicus, a scion of the princely house of Pergamus, disputed the inheritance with the Romans, raised an army, found adherents, and went against them, sword in hand. But it was impossible for him to hold out long. In the year 129 B.C. the revolt was crushed and its leader murdered. The consul, Manius Aquillius, created the Roman province, Asia, coextensive with the kingdom of Pergamus. In addition, there was Caria, which had taken part in the revolt of Aristonicus. This latter had been besieged and captured in Stratonicæa. Aquillius having been bribed, had given Greater Phrygia to Mithradates Euergetes of Pontus; Bithynia raised a protest; the proceedings in the senate on this point were prolonged interminably, until at last Rome appropriated the country herself. From that time (116 B.C.) all Greater Phrygia, Hellespontine Phrygia, Mysia, Lydia, and Caria, were

included in the new Roman province. Of the Greek towns, free up till now, those that had supported Aristonicus were deprived of their liberty and made provincial towns; but the others were recognised as free and autonomous.

At first, indeed, Rome had magnanimously relinquished all claim to taxes, which had long been raised by the kings of Pergamus, but soon some of them were restored. They introduced a tax of one-tenth on the produce of the soil, a tax on pasture land, and duties on imports and exports: the collection of revenue was made over to a company of Roman knights, who farmed all these taxes at Rome. This method of taxation was the plague and ruin of the provincials. The Asiatics, exposed to the tyranny and caprice of these companies, who only considered their own profit, and never the welfare of the taxpayers, and who naturally wished not only to get back the sums paid at Rome for farming these taxes, but to enrich themselves greatly by it, were shamelessly plundered by them, and could never hope for success if they ever ventured on a judicial complaint at Rome; for the very knights who composed these companies for farming the taxes, filled the law courts. A Roman governor, who changed yearly, stood at the head of the province. Even if some of them, as Mucius Serevola, were very honourable and worthy men, who really took the welfare of the province to heart, the majority of them only brought with them a mass of debts from the capital, and the province was reckoned by them and their compeers to be the most suitable sphere for getting rid of their debts and acquiring new wealth. There were, indeed, opportunities enough for the governor to wring out money for himself, especially since the province had to provide all expenses for him and his suite. The amount, however, which had to be expended for him depended on his own discretion, since he could impose taxes for a definite object, such as for the building of ships to resist the bold attacks of pirates, or generally for the protection of the land, and it rested with him alone to determine the rate of taxation, while no one controlled its proper application. Again, he alone distributed the garrisons among the towns, and many towns were only too glad to be quit of these unwelcome guests by a money payment to the governor. It was not, in any case, difficult for the Roman officials to thoroughly plunder the province entrusted to them. And, unfortunately, the number of the selfish governors at this time was greater than that of the honourable. Besides this, the suite of the governor was large, and consisted mostly of young aristocratic Romans, to whom the opportunity for acquiring some wealth was not unwelcome.

In short, the maladministration of the Romans was appalling. And in Rome itself the senate usually turned a deaf ear when complaints against its members were raised, just as the courts of the knights spared the tax-farming associations, if it was in any way possible. Such misgovernment must have greatly excited the anger and dissatisfaction of the provincials. Only a spark was needed to kindle a terrible conflagration, and the man was soon found who knew how to deal with these conditions.

We saw earlier that the race of the Mithradatidæ in Pontus had founded a dynasty. In the course of time the frontiers of this kingdom were widened. The Greek towns on this coast, Amastris, Amisus, and, above all, Sinope, with its own colonies of Trapezus and Cerasus, had been conquered and Sinope made the capital of the kingdom of Pontus. On the other hand, the various attempts of the Pontic princes to bring Galatia and Greater Phrygia under their rule were

frustrated, either by a coalition of the other kings in Asia Minor or by the intervention of Rome. Mithradates Euergetes, who had fought in the war of Aristonicus on the side of the Romans, and then thought he had claims on Greater Phrygia, which he hoped to strengthen by gifts of money to the consul, Aquillius, was murdered, at his own wife's instigation, before the transactions with Greater Phrygia were completed. He left a son of tender age, who, young as he was, fled from the plots of his mother and remained for many years hiding in the lonely mountains, where he steeled his courage and strengthened his body by struggles with the wild beasts and the rough surroundings. Mithradates Eupator reappeared at Sinope as a young man of twenty. The army saluted him with shouts of joy, and the people hailed him as their king. (See Fig. 3 of the plate, "Portraits on the coins of Alexander the Great and Hellenistic princes" at p. 134). His mother was obliged to resign the government to him. Filled with ambition and energy, his first and foremost thought was the aggrandisement of his kingdom; but that required means, money, and soldiers, of which he had not sufficient at his disposal. A happy chance helped him. In the Tauric Chersonese, the modern Crimea, the Scythians of the great South Russian steppe were pressing hard the free town of Chersonesus and the kingdom of Bosporus (now Kerch); Mithradates, being asked to help them, sent his general, Diophantus, with an army across to them. He defeated the Scythians, drove them back from the peninsula, and admitted the Chersonese, as well as the kingdom of Bosporus, which had submitted to his master, into the union of his subject states. Perhaps more important than the increase in territory was the replenishment of the Pontic treasury by the taxes which flowed in from the Crimea. Mithradates strengthened his army and increased its efficiency by continual training. He had already conquered Paphlagonia and Galatia in combination with Nicomedes of Bithynia, and had partitioned them with his ally, and had already secured his influence in Cappadocia, when the protests of Rome forced both of them to relinquish their conquests. Mithradates, indeed, bowed this time to the dictates of Rome, since he did not yet feel himself strong enough; but the wish to wreak vengeance on Rome for having prevented first his father and then himself from realising the ardently desired scheme of conquest, was cherished from this moment.

The disputes about the succession in Bithynia between Nicomedes III. and Socrates, of whom the latter held possession of the throne by the help of Mithradates until Nicomedes, supported by the Romans, expelled him, and finally the invasion of the territory of Pontus by Nicomedes, led to the outbreak of the war between Rome and Mithradates. This so-called First Mithradatic War broke out at a time (88 B.C.) when the Romans were still fully occupied in Italy itself. The Roman legate, Manius Aquillius, who was at the head of the Roman embassy which had brought back King Nicomedes, and before the outbreak of the war had conducted some diplomatic negotiations with Mithradates, levied, indeed, some troops in Asia; but he, as well as the remaining Roman commanders, the governor of the province of Asia, and the general of the forces in the adjoining Cilicia, were defeated by Mithradates or repulsed without attempting serious resistance. The king marched by way of Apameia and Laodicea into the Roman provinces. Isolated towns, such as Magnesia, near the Sipylus, and Stratonicea in Caria, resisted for some time the attacks of the king and had to be conquered by him; but these were exceptions. Mithradates was received with open arms

and hailed as a liberator from the universally hated yoke. In a very short time the province joined him. At his orders on one day eighty thousand Italians were murdered. These had gradually become numerous, as more and more people had poured into the incalculably rich land of Asia for the sake of gain and commerce. Greece also was affected. Athens first of all espoused the cause of Mithradates: the Boeotians, Achæans, and Lacedæmonians declared for him. His general, Archelaus, was in Greece with one hundred thousand men, and had his headquarters at Athens. At Rome itself there was civil war. Not until the beginning of the year 87 B.C. was Sulla the Great able to start with an army for Greece. His mere appearance brought many Greeks back to their allegiance. Only Athens resisted, remained loyal to Mithradates, and had to be conquered after a long siege (March 1, 86); a few days later the Piræus also was stormed and given to the flames. This first great success was followed by others: Sulla defeated Archelaus at Chæronea, and Dorylaus, who had come up with considerable reinforcements, at Orchomenus.

In Asia Minor also the situation was not as favourable for Mithradates as at first. Rhodes had refused submission to the king, and Lycia did likewise. The siege of Rhodes, like that of Patara in Lycia, had been a waste of time, for on both occasions Mithradates had been forced to withdraw without effecting any result. Again, his cruel and tyrannical government began soon to prove an intolerable yoke on the Asiatics, who had greeted him as a liberator. At Ephesus, Tralles, and other places the king's governors were murdered or expelled, and the towns put into a state of defence. Meantime the democratic party that ruled at Rome since Sulla's departure, had sent an army to the theatre of war, which murdered its own leader, the consul Flaccus, and now crossed under Fimbria to Asia Minor and there took up the war against Mithradates. Lucullus, Sulla's general, had assembled a fleet in Syria and Egypt, with which he conducted successful operations and took Cos, Cnidus, Chios and other towns from Mithradates. Pressed on every side, the king resolved to enter into negotiations for peace with Sulla. After preliminary conferences held between Archelaus and Sulla, the latter and Mithradates met at Dardanus. By the terms of peace Mithradates was obliged to evacuate the Roman province, give up his conquests in Bithynia, Paphlagonia, and Cappadocia, and for the future restrict himself to the possession of his Pontic territory; in addition, he was to surrender seventy warships and pay 2000 talents as war indemnity. At Sulla's appearance Fimbria's army deserted, and Fimbria himself committed suicide (84 B.C.).

Thus ended the First Mithradatic War, and the province of Asia was once more Roman. Sulla reorganised it. Rhodes was rewarded for its heroic resistance by a gift of Caunus and other districts on the Carian coast; the towns which had remained loyal were declared free, while those that had revolted were punished and a heavy fine was imposed upon them. This penalty weighed heavily upon the towns; and since it had to be met by loans, it seriously retarded their prosperity, already seriously impaired. Ten years afterwards we see Lucullus endeavouring by wise measures to discharge the debts of many of the towns and vigorously combating the pernicious system by which unpaid interest was regarded as bearing interest in turn — a method of computation which swelled the total amount to an enormous sum. He reduced the rate of interest, wiped out the interest which had run up above the amount of the original

following pages retain the name of Scythians for the inhabitants of southern Russia.

Just as the South Russian steppe is a continuation of the central Asiatic plain, which stretches from the watershed between the Caspian and Aral seas to the spurs of the Pamir and the Hindu-Kusch, so the Greeks did not restrict the name of Scythian to the old South Russian people, but gave it to all the tribes of the steppes having the same customs and modes of life. Sometimes, these were called *Saceæ*, sometimes *Massagetae*. But however different and numerous the names which were given by the ancients to the nations who inhabit those vast regions, one feature is common to all — they were nomads, just as now the Turcomans, Kirgheses, or whatever they may be called, who have succeeded to them. And, further, it may be now noted as an universally established fact that all these nations of the steppes were Iranians, that is, they belonged to the same stock as the Persians and Medes in Iran proper. The nomads of South Russia, called Scythians in the narrower sense of the word, were formerly held to be Mongolians. The most important authority for this was the description of the Greek physician, Hippocrates, according to which their appearance was thick, and so fleshy that the joints were buried in fat, flabby, and soft, while their complexion was ruddy. Hippocrates notices also in the Scythians what is often noticeable in nations of a low grade: they all looked much alike. But the life on the steppes stamps a certain similarity on all the nomad nations confined in them; outside of that the points of resemblance noted are not so characteristic that we must necessarily consider the Scythians to be Mongolians. The remains of the Scythian language bear rather an Aryan stamp, and show in their roots and endings a close relationship to that spoken in Iran. By referring to the plate at page 75, which shows the Scythian kings and nobles as represented by Greek artists, it will be found that the type is not Mongolian. The close observation of the customs and habits of the steppe, which is shown in the lifelike representation of the separate examples, is a guarantee to us that the men, no less than the animals and separate scenes, are accurate reproductions of careful studies from life. Their Eastern neighbours, the Sarmatians, divided from them by the course of the Tanais, spoke a dialect allied to the Scythian, as Herodotus tells us; and a fact which did not escape the ancients, the Sarmatians were undoubtedly Iranians.

This great nation of Iranic origin, roaming from the Oxus and Jaxartes (the Amu-darja and Sir-darja) to the mouths of the Danube, was split into many tribes and hordes. The one which pushed farthest westward, i.e. the *Seolotæ*, or Scythians in the narrower sense, are best known to us, because Herodotus, the father of history, made them the subject of a detailed description.

The Greeks knew that the Scythians had not always lived in South Russia, but had immigrated there from Asia. On their wanderings the Scythians came across the Cimmerians. They did not drive out this people all at once in one mighty onslaught, as Herodotus thought, but gradually and slowly pushed them back. The effect of this blow struck by the Scythians, who came from the East and pushed onward, is seen in the pressure of the Cimmerians on the Thracians of the Balkan peninsula, and their paving a way for themselves through Thrace to new settlements in Asia Minor, whither they swept many Thracian tribes with them. This movement in South Russia and on the Balkan

peninsula lasted many centuries. It is certain that a great part of the Cimmerians, owing to the pressing onward of the Scythians, left their land and sought new homes elsewhere. Another part was certainly subdued by the new people and fused with them, as happened later to the Scythians themselves, owing to the pressure of nations from the East. A last remnant of the Cimmerians preserved their independence in the Crimea, protected by the mountains, which they either had previously inhabited or to which they had fled for refuge from the Scythians. These were the Tauri, in the mountains of the southern Crimea, who in the accounts which have come down to us are always sharply marked off from the Scythians inhabiting the rest of the Crimea. They were notorious for their piracy and their custom of sacrificing strangers who fell into their hands through shipwreck or in any other way. The story of Agamemnon's daughter Iphigenia is well known. She came to them by divine decree; and, being appointed priestess of Artemis among them, was confronted by the necessity of sacrificing her own brother, Orestes, and his friend, Pylades.

The migrations of the Cimmerians, their invasions of Asia Minor, and their final overthrow have been related in another place (see pp. 52, etc.). On the other hand, in the country originally inhabited by them, the Cimmerian Bosporus, so called after them (the present straits of Kerch) and some fortifications which presumably owe their origin to them, and therefore were called by the ancients "Cimmerian," still preserve their memory.

The Scythians then inhabited the whole of Crimea, with the exception of the mountainous South and the South Russian steppe from the Don to the Dniester. The district that owned their influence certainly extended so far. The "agricultural" Scythians in the districts watered by the Dniester, Bug, and Dnieper were, indeed, from their occupation contrasted with the ruling nomad stock, the "royal" Scythians in the wide plain between the Dnieper and the Don, but in other respects were not different from them. And as farming was only possible in the immediate vicinity of the streams which flow through the steppes, we may well assume that it was not practised by all members of the tribe, but was restricted to some few sections, who as inhabitants of fertile, well-watered plains, and influenced by the neighbouring Greek colonies on the north coast of the Black Sea, had made the transition from nomad life to agriculture. Similarly, as the kingdom of Bosporus expanded under efficient rulers, the Scythians on the east side of the Crimea became subject to them, and at the same time became agriculturists, instead of nomad herdsmen. But with the exception of these "agricultural" Scythians, all the rest, and especially the ruling tribe of the "royal" Scythians, were, in consequence of the nature of the country in which they dwelt and roamed, nomads and herdsmen. They did not cultivate the land and did not live on the products of their labour. They had no villages and towns, no citadels or fortified places, but were cattle breeders and wandered with their cattle and their goods from one pasture to another. From this there soon resulted the division of the people into innumerable small sections (in Herodotus "Nomos"), to each one of which was assigned a district, generally well defined, but without any hard-and-fast boundary-line in particular, on which they found pasture for feeding their herds; and this district, the life of which centred, we may imagine round the heap of brushwood with the iron sword planted on it, which we shall mention later, must have

also been large enough to offer new pastures when those already discovered provided no more sustenance. We can surmise that disputes and strife were common, and that often war broke out, when one section fed their cattle on the land apportioned to another. To change their abodes quickly and to protect themselves against the inclemency of the weather, the Scythians learnt to construct tents for themselves, which, consisting of lathes covered over with felt or skins of wild animals and placed on heavy, four-wheeled or six-wheeled wagons, served them as a dwelling-place. These wagons afforded shelter against rain, snow, and storm, and, drawn by teams of oxen, were used to transport the women, children, and chattels on their wanderings, while the men and elder boys rode and drove the cattle. The chief wealth of the Scythians consisted in horses, cattle, and sheep. In war and in peace the men were for the most part of their life on horseback. The breeding, care, and taming of horses was their chief occupation (see the subjoined plate, "Scenes from Scythian life"); mare's milk and cheese made from it served them as food. The cattle and sheep supplied them with meat, and they used the skins for clothing or barter, for they were eagerly sought after by the Greeks.

Their religious customs and ceremonies corresponded to the state of nature in which the Scythians evidently lived. The sky and its wife, the earth, who received from it the rain and sunshine necessary for her fruitfulness; fire and water, with some other natural phenomena, which Herodotus identifies with Apollo, the celestial Aphrodite, and Hercules, without enabling us to arrive at their real signification — these were the objects of divine worship, to whom they offered sacrifices, and whom they invoked at their sacrifices. But to none of their deities did they erect temples and altars, any more than they fashioned images of them. They did not slaughter the sacrificial victim, but strangled it by a noose. After it had been skinned and the flesh stripped from the bones, the flesh was again fitted into the skin and cooked, the bones serving as fuel for the purpose. Peculiar, too, was the worship paid to the sword as the noblest weapon of the Scythian, who lived always on a war footing, ready for defence or for attack. In every tribal section a pile of brushwood was heaped up, which was replenished every year on account of the sinking caused by the weather; and on this brushwood-heap, which presented a flat surface at the top, was planted a sword, to which horses and cattle were annually sacrificed. In perusing Herodotus' description we are involuntarily reminded of the mounds of the American Indians (cf. Vol. I., p. 200 *et seq.*). Even human sacrifices were not unknown to the Scythians. They sacrificed to their god of war one out of every hundred prisoners. After wine had been sprinkled upon his head the victim was slaughtered in such a way that his blood was caught in a vessel. The corpse of the victim was left lying in the open after they had hewn off the right shoulder, which was thrown high into the air, while the blood which had been caught was taken up to the top of the pile of brushwood erected in honour of their god of war and there poured over the upright sword of the god.

Characteristic also was the conduct of the soldier towards his slain enemy. The Scythian drank the blood of the first man whom he killed. But he severed the head of every enemy he killed from the body and brought it to his king, for only he who brought home the head of a slain enemy could share the booty. The more heads he possessed, the more respected he was among his countrymen.

The severed head served not only as a title for him to a share of the spoil but the skin was stripped off it, tanned, and hung as an ornament on the horse's bridle, or sewn together with other human skins, was used as an article of dress. Human skin was esteemed not only as being thick and strong, but also extremely beautiful, white, and glossy. Besides this, the skull, stripped of the skin, was sawn in two and a drinking-cup made of its upper portion, which was ordinarily covered outside with oxhide, while rich Scythians gilded it also inside. The Scythians scalped even their own countrymen, like enemies, if they had been at feud with them and, after a complaint, had vanquished them in the presence of the king.

At the head of the tribes were chiefs; at the head of the whole Scythian people a king. The government was despotic. We see that very clearly from the ceremonies at the burial of the kings. If an ordinary Scythian died, his corpse was carried round to all the neighbours for fourteen days, and every one gave a funeral feast. The embalmed body of the king was taken from tribe to tribe, in each of which the men inflicted cruel wounds on themselves and joined the funeral procession until it reached Gerrhi, in the territory of the "royal" Scythians, where the tombs of the kings were. Here the king was buried and with him one of his wives, his cup-bearer, his cook, his groom, his lackey, his horses, and all sorts of gold and silver vessels. A gigantic sepulchral mound was heaped up over all. On the first anniversary fifty more horses and fifty servants of the dead king were strangled; the horses were stuffed and fixed on stakes and the servants placed on them as guards for the dead man. Many such sepulchral mounds, usually called Kurgans, have been found in the vicinity of the Dnieper and opened. They held concealed in their chambers, besides the bones of men and animals, all sorts of implements, among which the works of Greek artists in gold and silver are conspicuous, and deserve special attention. They show, indeed, the friendly intercourse which must have once existed on the north shores of the Black Sea between the Scythians and the flourishing Greek colonies.

The Greeks, and especially the vigorous and enterprising Ionians of the coast of Asia Minor, began very early to navigate the Black Sea, in order to procure for themselves the products of those parts and open up markets for their own goods. They therefore sent out colonists to establish emporiums in suitable localities. Such settlements may have often been recalled, but very often prosperous and powerful towns grew up out of them. There were Greek colonies on the coast of South Russia, as Olbia at the mouth of the Hypanis (Bug), Tyras on the river of the same name in the Crimea; Panticapæum, or Bosphorus (now Kerch), Chersonesus (now Sebastopol), and Theodosia, founded by the kings of Bosphorus (now Feodosia; in the Middle Ages, Caffa), and finally Tanais on the Sea of Azov, near the mouth of the Don. The oldest and originally the most flourishing of these was Olbia. From here ran a trade route over the Dnieper and the Don, through the territory of the Sarmatians and Budinæ, first up to the Volga, where lay the factory of Gelonus, founded by the Greeks on account of the fur trade, and then over the Ural (probably by Orenburg) and the Ilek, down into the heart of Asia. At a later period the Asiatic trade passed through Tanais, which flourished under the Roman emperors. Panticapæum deserves to be mentioned with Olbia. From small beginnings it developed into an important commercial town and the capital of a kingdom which comprised the whole eastern

peninsula of the Crimea and the peninsula of Taman, which lay opposite on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus.

We are told how the Greek colonists made themselves masters of the Scythian settlement of Panticapaeum, and how they had to fight with the Scythians until they gradually increased their territory, brought the neighbouring barbarians into subjection, and made peaceful agricultural citizens out of them, a process repeatedly followed by those Greek colonies. The barbarians did not willingly give up their territory; it had to be fought for, and only gradually were trade relations formed with them and put on a firm basis. Very often the Greeks had to draw the sword in order to repel the attacks of rapacious and plundering Scythians, until they at length were strong enough to keep them in check. So long as the citizens of Olbia, on the one side, and the kings of Bosphorus, on the other, understood this, their trade flourished. The Crimea was the chief granary for Athens, from here, as from the other Greek colonies, hides, furs, and fleeces were sent to the mother-country. Everywhere on the coasts, especially on those of the Maeotis (Sea of Azov), sprang up settlements for the numerous fishermen who followed their calling there, catching great quantities of fish, which, thanks to the abundance of salt to be found, they at once salted and sent away by ship. Slaves also were eagerly sought after. In return the mother-country exported, besides oil and wine (the olive and the vine do not flourish on the northern coasts of the Euxine), all sorts of fabrics, gold and silver ornaments, and other articles of luxury. The products of Greek manufacturers which are found in such quantities in the Scythian tombs show us that the Scythians were good customers for Greek wares. In return they furnished slaves, hides, wool and many like things.

The relations, therefore, between the Scythians and Greeks were varied. But even if so many germs of a higher culture reached the barbarians, making many of them agriculturists, even if Scythian kings, like Ariapeithes and his son Scyles, had Greek wives and were attached to Greek customs, the Scythian nation, as a whole, remained on a low plane of civilisation and resisted Greek influences. Scyles, for instance, was expelled on account of his frequent visits to Olbia and his taking part in the Bacchic revels. They remained a warlike, nomad people, trained to arms, but not strong enough to withstand the shock and the pressure of the nations pushing forwards from the East.

B. THE HISTORY OF THE SCYTHIANS AND SARMATIANS

OUR earliest knowledge of the Scythians is the record of the greatest danger which they ever faced. In the year 513 B.C. Darius of Persia marched against them with seven hundred thousand men and six hundred ships. The nature of their country stood the Scythians in good stead. When Darius led his army over the Danube on a bridge and marched forward, the Scythians retreated before him, avoiding every pitched battle, filled up the watering-places and laid waste the pasture lands. Thus the Persian king was enticed into a desert, and the Scythians appeared at once on his rear and his front. Darius had to turn back, after suffering heavy loss, to save his army from perishing miserably of thirst. As a set-off for this expedition of Darius, the Scythians undertook some years later

(495 B.C.) a raid through Thracia into the Thracian Chersonese. It is said, indeed, that they had intended to cross into Asia Minor, but they did not get so far.

For a long time after we hear nothing of the Scythians. But if it is certain that no Attila or Timur arose among them, as among the other nomad peoples of Asia, and that they did not become formidable to the world through a triumphant invasion, yet an uninterrupted movement must have taken place among the nations of southern Russia, naturally not such as is incongruous with nomad life, but a movement rather marked by the intrusion of one tribe into the territory of another, the transfer of power from the conquered to the victorious people, and the occupation of the land left vacant by the victors by another people still.

According to Herodotus, in the fifth century B.C. the Scythians (*Scolotæ*) were the ruling nation between the Bug and the Don, and their neighbours on the east were the Sarmatians; the boundary between the two was formed by the Tanais (Don). By the third or second century the state of affairs had changed. The Tanais no longer divided the two nations, but the Sarmatians ruled the greater part of the steppe westward of the Don, and where formerly the "royal" Scythians dwelt the Sarmatian tribe of the Rhoxolani were now settled. Before this result was attained many a battle must have been fought and the blood of many a nomad have been shed. Of this we hear nothing; but it is certain that in the long wars by which the Sarmatians became the masters of the steppe of southern Russia the Scythians were by no means exterminated. An isolated record of their long struggles and counter-struggles may have been preserved for us in the story of the Scythian king, Ateas. About the middle of the fourth century B.C. we find him to the south of the Danube and actually at war with the Greek colony of Istrus in the Dobrudseha, having already fought and defeated the Triballi, who lived to the south of the Danube. Pressed hard by the King of Istrus, he asked help of King Philip of Macedon, promising in return to appoint him his heir. Soon afterwards, however, when the King of Istrus died, Ateas sent back the Macedonian auxiliaries, with whom he could now dispense, and returned a refusal to Philip's request that in compensation he would defray a part of the cost of the siege of Byzantium. After the raising of the siege Philip began war with the Scythians, marched to the Danube, and won a complete victory over them. Ateas himself was killed; and many women and children and countless herds — it is reckoned that twenty thousand mares alone were brought back to Macedon — fell into the hands of the victor. If Ateas could be reduced to such straits by one small Greek town as to be forced to seek foreign assistance, we cannot believe that he invaded a foreign country at the head of a powerful force with a view to conquest; but we are more inclined to assume that, being himself hard pressed by more powerful nations in the East, he hoped to find new permanent settlements south of the Danube — a prelude, as it were, to its movement of the German races in the third and fourth centuries A.D. This hope was not realised: Ateas fell, and under Alexander, Philip's son, the Triballi again were the ruling nation to the south of the Danube. But north of the Danube and away towards the Bug the Scythians held their own. Thirty years after their defeat by Philip they supported those same Istriani which had pressed Ateas so hard in the war against Lysimachus.

If one part of the Scythians under Ateas marched forward, and so escaped the pressure of the Sarmatians, another part remained in their old homes. In the Crimea and in the immediately adjoining districts of the South Russian steppe towards the end of the second century B.C., when the Rhoxolani were already settled between the Don and the Dnieper, a Scythian king, Scilurus, attained such power as to threaten the Greek towns of Chersonesus and Bosporus. Energetic and powerful kings no longer, indeed, ruled in Bosporus, as formerly, and even in Chersonesus the old rigour seemed to have relaxed and to have given place to a certain effeminacy and weakness. In any case, these towns no longer held the Scythians in check, as formerly. Scilurus pressed them hard, demanded and obtained payment of tribute to insure their immunity from invasion, and brought them to such a condition that they began to look round for foreign help. Mithradates the Great, the King of Pontus, the mighty and dangerous opponent of Rome, sent his general, Diophantus (see p. 69, above), who defeated the Scythians under Scilurus in several campaigns and forced them to refrain from further attacks on the territory of the Greek towns. Bosporus and Chersonesus paid a high price for the service rendered to them, they had to give up their independence and became Pontic towns.

After the death of Mithradates and the end of his dynasty, Rome assumed the foremost and leading position in the Crimea. Although in Bosporus the royal line which had been established by Rome still nominally ruled, and even in the time of the emperors successfully kept guard on this farthest frontier of the empire against the nomad barbarians of the South Russian steppe, just as formerly the Leuconidae, yet in reality Rome was here, as everywhere, the supreme power, setting up or deposing monarchs and sending her troops to insure peace. In the first half of the first century of the Christian era a Roman general liberated the town of Chersonesus from a siege by the Scythians. These were the same Scythians of the northern half of the Crimea and the adjoining parts of the steppe who formerly had been repulsed by Diophantus. That is the last time that we meet the Scythians here.

In the broad steppes between the Don and the Dniester the Sarmatians, and especially the Rhoxolani, were predominant; and the last Scythians must have been absorbed and subdued by them.

Like Bosporus and Chersonesus, Olbia, that once flourishing and powerful town on the north shore of the Black Sea, declined in importance. About the time when Diophantus brought help to the Greek towns on the Crimea (or perhaps a little earlier) Olbia was also hard pressed on all sides, and although their public treasury was drained, and the help of solvent citizens had to be called into requisition, was compelled to pay tribute or give gifts of money to the numerous chieftains of the neighbouring tribes, in order to secure their good will and to keep them from hostile measures against the town. But distress reached its culminating point when the Gauls and the German Sciri, who joined them, advanced from the district of the Vistula and seemed to threaten the town; and though that was avoided, and the united army of the Gauls and Sciri seems to have withdrawn, Olbia soon afterwards had to fight against new enemies, for some twenty or thirty years later the town was taken and destroyed by the Getae, who dwelt on the Danube and under an energetic ruler had become a great power. The town, it is true, was rebuilt; but, involved in

continual wars against the neighbouring barbarians, it never regained its former prosperity.

These plundering expeditions, first of the Gauls and Sciri, then of the Getae, are, as it were, a prelude to the scenes that were to be acted on the South Russian steppe in the succeeding centuries; that is, in the uninterrupted flow and crush of nation upon nation.

After the kingdom of the Getae had broken up, the Sarmatian Iaziges advanced over the Danube and pressed hard on the Greek colonies there until they took possession of the country between the Theiss and the Danube, here they were settled during the entire period of the empire, and often proved dangerous enemies to the Romans.

The Sarmatians who remained behind in South Russia, especially the Roxolani, repeatedly pushed on towards the Danube, but were finally crushed by the German nations advancing from the districts on the Vistula, the Goths, Heruli, and all the other tribes. Thence the German tribes frequently raided and invaded the Roman territory until in 375 A.D. they went down before the mighty onslaught of the Huns.

3. THE PRIMITIVE NATIONS OF THE MAIN BALKAN PENINSULA

A. PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE BALKAN PENINSULA

SEAMED by high mountains which run in various directions and enclose sharply isolated valleys, the mass of the southeasternmost peninsula of Europe resembles in its physical characteristics the peninsula of Greece, which joins it to the south (treated in the second half of this volume), but differs from it in being far less accessible by sea. The east coast is but little indented and is deficient in good harbours. The west coast is more irregular in outline and possesses numerous islands and harbours, lofty and precipitous mountains, however, run down to the shore and prevent brisk trade with the interior. Only to the north, where the peninsula joins the continent, is it without any distinct boundary, and on that side the country is wholly exposed to foreign invasion. The vast area may be divided orographically into two regions — the western part, shut in by the Dinaric Mountains, which stretch from north to south, and the eastern part, which abounds in mountain ranges, running at right angles almost with the Dinaric chain. The ethnographic divisions correspond in general to the orographic; the Illyrians dwelt on the west, the Thracians on the east, and at a later period the Macedonians thrust in their way between the two to the south.

B. THE PRIMITIVE NATIONS OF THE BALKAN PENINSULA

(a) *The Illyrians.*—Bordering on Epirus in the south and having intercourse with the Hellenes, the Illyrians were on the north neighbours of the Celts, with whom they came into contact in what is now Croatia. But exact boundaries can be as little specified in the north as on the side of the Thracians in the east; the frontiers were often uncertain and in course of time were frequently altered. Prevented

from extending northward by the Celts, who, since an early period, pressed down on them, and hemmed in by mountains on the east, the Illyrians had continuously encroached upon the Hellenes in the south, and some bands of them had even advanced into Greece; but the great mass of wanderers who left their old home on account of over-population and the consequent deficiency in food, or the pressure of neighbouring nations, or the desire for conquest crossed the Ionian Sea and settled on the opposite Italian coast. Even in ancient times the Daunians, the Sallentinians, the Pelignians, Iapygians, Messapians, and other tribes of Italy were held to be Illyrians, and the correctness of this assumption has recently been confirmed by the close relationship of the present Albanian — a dialect spoken practically in the same district as that once occupied by the Illyrians, and considered to be the latest variety of one of the old Illyrian dialects — with the Messapian, preserved on inscriptions in Lower Italy.

Split up into many tribes, which preserved their peculiar habits and customs, separated as they were from each other by mountain ranges, and untouched by any foreign civilisation, the Illyrians never attained national unity, though renowned for their bravery and notorious for their rudeness and love of plunder. At the head of the tribes were the princes, who sought to extend their dominions at the expense of each other as well as by the invasion of foreign territory. West of the lake of Lychnitis some importance was attained by the monarchy of Bardylis (cf. p. 96) and his son Clitus, who invaded Macedonia and held in subjection part of that country until driven back by Philip and afterwards by Alexander. At a later period the kingdom of the Ardiai existed on the lower course of the Naro. This nation, governed by such princes as Pleuratus and Agron, ruled the sea with their pirate fleet and menaced the Greek colonies on the fertile islands which fringe the coast (Pharos, Issa, Coreyra Nigra, Melito) as well as to the Greek towns on the mainland (Lissus, Epidamnus, and Apollonia). All the Greeks on the Adriatic, with the exception of those of Issa, lost their independence. Issa invoked the help of Rome; and in the year 230 B.C. Rome first interfered in Illyrian affairs by liberating the Greek towns. Rome was forced to wage war repeatedly in Illyria before that country could be made a province. Then, for the first time, Illyria became more accessible; roads were built and the beginning of progress made, while the Roman legions maintained peace and paved the way for trade and commerce.

(b) *The Thracians.*—We do not know when the Thracians entered the land which bears their name. From the few words which have been preserved (no records in the Thracian language exist) and from the proper names which have come down to us in large numbers, but above all from their geographic position among the Indo-Germanic nations — Greeks, Slavs, and the Aryan Scythians — it has long been held that the Thracians also were Indo-Germans and formed as distinct a branch of that great family as their southern neighbours or the Celts with whom they afterwards came into contact on the Danube. Thracian tribes spread beyond the Balkan Peninsula itself and settled, the Getae in Transylvania, the Dacians in what is now Rumania. And though in more recent, and particularly in Roman times, the term "Thrace" was applied to the country south of the Haemus, between the Rhodope Mountains and the Black Sea; in antiquity this was not the case: then Thrace comprised all countries where Thracians

dwelt, the vast regions — that is, extending from the slopes of the Carpathians to the Egean and from the Black Sea westward to the frontiers of Illyria.

Probably no one at present doubts that the Thracians originally came from the north. But after the first occupation of the land to which they gave their name many important changes occurred, tribes long settled changed character with the arrival of new settlers or wandered from the old homes to new abodes. The Trojans and Phrygians, both Thracian tribes, came from Europe to find a new home in Asia; this event is said to have happened about 3000 B.C. — that is, in prehistoric times. Then came the migration into Asia of the Mysians, who set out thither from the valley of the Danube. Some of them were still settled there even in Roman days under the name of Moesians. The last great migration from the Balkan Peninsula over the Bosphorus into Asia Minor, that of the Thynians and Bithynians, occurred after the close of prehistoric times. Of them, however, a part remained behind in Europe, as in the case of the Mysians. The chief cause of all the migrations was the inability of the tribes to resist the pressure of powerful nations behind them.

We do not know how often entire tribes, or at least considerable fractions of them, were thus annihilated or crushed, we only may see here and there the results of a long and important movement, without being able to follow more closely its origin and its course. Thus we know (cf. above, p. 52) that the Cummerians of the South Russian steppe in the east were pushed westward by the advance of the Scythians, were driven against the Thracians, and, finally, flying before the Nomads, left their native land; how they then proceeded through the Balkan Peninsula over the Bosphorus into Asia Minor and there produced great revolutions. Some Thracian tribes, which had shared their campaigns in Asia Minor, were with them. Precisely the same thing happened to the Thracians in the southwest, where the Pierians, Bottiaeans, and Edomians held all the territory up to Olympus and the Thessalian frontier, where the Macedonians repelled every forward movement. Obviously the departure of the Thracians from those parts must have produced important revolutions or migrations among the kindred tribes.

The superstitions of the Thracians, their forms of divine worship, and their religious conceptions were the object of zealous study among the Greeks; but many observances are found among them which had been borrowed of their southern neighbours and developed. According to Herodotus, the Thracians worshipped Ares, Dionysus, and Artemis; but their kings worshipped Hermes, whom they claimed as progenitor, a cult peculiar to them. The whole list of their gods is not, indeed, exhausted by these names; they certainly worshipped one other celestial being, who seems to have been called by some tribes Gebeleizis, by others Sbelthiurdus. Him in times of tempest they would entreat, by discharging arrows in the air, to silence the thunder and keep back the lightning.

It is not surprising to find Ares, the god of war and of the din of arms, worshipped by so warlike a people. Thrace was for this reason called Areia, the land of Ares; from Thrace (according to Homer) he rushed forth, accompanied by his son Phœbus, to battle with his foes, and to Thrace he returned after the famous episode with the fair Aphrodite. But we know nothing of the manner in which he was worshipped.

On the other hand, the cult of Dionysus is tolerably well known. Supposing

that Semele, who is universally considered to be his mother, is really the Thraco-Phrygian earth-goddess, then Dionysus may be considered the son of the Earth and of the god of Heaven, a conclusion to which the first element in his name points. He brings blessings and fertility, not merely the vine, but all the fruits of the fields and gardens are under his protection: when the plants that cover the earth pass away lamentations are raised to him, when they awake once more he is greeted with shouts of joy. Utter licentiousness and the wildest abandon characterised the celebration of the resurrection of Dionysus. Men and women, the latter clad in flowing many-coloured garments, joined in the rout. Garlanded with ivy and bearing thyrsus staves and various instruments of music (flutes, cymbals, drums, and pipes), they rushed madly through the fields in search of the god, and the orgy was continued till the approach of the god was announced by the ululation of men imitating the howling of beasts: the wildest enthusiasm was indulged in by all who took part when once the god was again among them. All this was reckoned, even in antiquity, as a distinctive feature of the festival of the Thracian Dionysus. In Greece any trace of such orgiastic festivals may be assigned to Thracian influences. Another aspect of the nature of Dionysus deserves to be noticed. He was a god of prophecy. North of Pangaeum, in the wild Rhodopian range, was found his oracle, over which the priestly race of the Bessi presided. A woman, inspired by the god, uttered in his name dark sayings, hardly more intelligible than those of her far more famous colleague at Delphi. This oracle of Dionysus maintained its importance for many centuries.

Orgiastic festivals with processions were held in honour of the goddess Bendis, who was identified with the Greek Artemis. The offerings brought her by the women were wrapped in wheat-stalks, the men organised a torchlight ride, and the whole was ended by a night of revelry. The festivities were as wild as the people itself; and we may infer what their effect was on the manners of the people from Herodotus, who reproaches the Thracian maidens with unchastity.

Human beings were also sacrificed. Every four years a festival was held in honour of Salmoxis, at which a man, previously selected by lot to go to Salmoxis as ambassador and messenger, was seized by his hands and feet and thrown on the points of spears. If the chosen victim did not die therefrom, he was a wicked man, unworthy of the commission entrusted to him, and another was taken in his place. The favourite wife was often sacrificed on the new-made grave of her deceased husband and immediately buried by his side. Herodotus, it is true, relates this only of one Thracian tribe. But the sacrifice of widows was certainly a universal Thracian custom in early times, as it was, indeed, among other Aryan nations in primitive times, and exists at the present day in India. By the time of Herodotus this custom, formerly universal, had begun to die out.

In more recent times no human victims were offered to the dead, but all kinds of objects were consecrated to the departed as a hero or demigod. Small marble slabs were dedicated to him, which showed in relief the figure of a rider with fluttering cloak, sometimes alone, frequently in combination with various beasts of the chase, at which the horseman hurls his lance; often an altar was raised to him. The surviving members of the family did this in order that the spirit of the departed might be gracious and favourable to them.

Herodotus was able to say of the Thracian tribe of the Getæ that, according

to their religious conception, life did not end with death, but that after death a better and more happy life was to be expected: according to ordinary tradition, the sage Salmoxis had taught them this belief in immortality. Peculiar to them is the exalted station the wise man or priest occupied by the side of the king; as interpreter of the divine commands, and as mediator between gods and mortals he was the monarch's guide and counsellor. And the Trausi, another Thracian tribe, lamented at the birth of a male child, as they reflected on the afflictions and sufferings awaiting him in life; but they buried the deceased with great rejoicing as one who had done with sorrow and had entered into everlasting happiness. It is not therefore astonishing that the piety of the Thracians was often praised in antiquity. In some cases also asceticism is noticeable among them: there were people who, in order to obtain a reputation for sanctity, refrained from all flesh food and remained unmarried. We can doubtless see in the efforts of these few holy men a reaction against the prevailing habits of life, for in many other instances handed down to us the Thracians appear in a brutal light, indulging in polygamy, addicted to drink, and rough in their habits.

Wives were bought for money from their parents and were strictly watched by their husbands, whereas maidens enjoyed great freedom of movement and could form *liaisons* at pleasure. The sale of children also was prevalent.

The Thracians were divided into numerous tribes, at the head of which stood princes. The inaccessibility of their mountains favoured the efforts of the inhabitants to maintain their independence. These mountain tribes lived mostly by hunting and cattle-breeding: brigandage and marauding were regarded as the most honourable pursuits. The state of affairs was different in the river-valleys, especially in the broad and fertile valley of the Hebrus. Here there was a higher civilisation: agriculture was carried on; wheat and millet were cultivated as well as hemp, from which cloth was made, barley, from which beer was extracted, and even vines. Here the inhabitants dwelt in fortified villages, and there were farms surrounded by palisades, since the owners always had to be prepared for the raids of the marauding mountain tribes. In the valley of the Hebrus, which was inhabited by various tribes, a kingdom was first constituted by the Odrysæ, who united several tribes under one rule.

But before this could happen Thrace had to shake off the yoke of the Persians. When Darius marched through this land on his expedition against the Scythians (513 B.C.) its inhabitants either submitted to him or were forced, as the Getæ between the Haemus and the Danube, to join his army. After the disaster to the king, Megabazus remained behind in Thrace with eighty thousand men in order completely to subdue the country. As a result, the districts on the Aegean coast and the valley of the Hebrus came under the Persian rule. They were made subject to tribute and were required to provide auxiliaries, while Persian garrisons were placed in the most important towns, such as Doriscus, Eion on the Strymon, Sestus, Byzantium, etc. The Persian supremacy in Thrace lasted up to the time of the Persian wars, when after the battles of Plataea and Mycale the Greeks succeeded in bringing the straits of the Bosphorus once more into their power and driving the Persians completely out of Europe. In the following years Persian garrisons fell in rapid succession, last of all that of Doriscus, which was defended by the brave Mæsesmos.

Thus the Persians were driven out of Thrace by the Greeks, chiefly owing to the

Athenians. But far from welcoming their liberators gladly, the Thracians, on the contrary, offered a desperate resistance to the Athenians. They not only aided the Persian garrisons of Eion and Doriscus, but actually defeated the Athenians on several occasions, when these, being now in possession of Eion, endeavoured to occupy and colonise Enneahodoe, a place on the Strymon in a most fertile region and at the intersection of the roads from the north to the Aegean Sea, and from Macedonia eastward to the Hellespont and the Bosphorus it was not until 436 B.C. that Amphipolis could be founded here. But Eion belonged to the Athenians, and after the revolt of Thasus the possessions of Thasus on the mainland, such as Oesymæ, Galepsus, and Scaptchylæ, fell into their hands (463 B.C.). Thus the Athenians firmly established themselves on the Thracian coast. The Thracian Chersonese had long been in their possession, and through the creation of the Attic maritime league — to which Abdera, Aenus, and Maronea of the Greek colonies situated in these parts, and Byzantium, Perinthus, and others of the Hellespontine towns belonged — they completely ruled the whole Thracian coast. The Chalcidian peninsula which adjoins on the west, was also subjected to Athenian influence. •

Almost contemporaneously with the establishment of the Athenian power on the coast, the Odrysæ in the valley of the Hebrus succeeded in subduing the other native tribes and in founding a kingdom. Though Teres was not the founder of the Odrysæan kingdom, he was regarded as the one who did most to enhance its power and to extend its sway over the regions of Thrace. The whole territory between Rhodope, Mount Haemus, the Black Sea, and Hellespont was ruled over by the Odrysæan kings. Even beyond Mount Haemus, the Getae, who inhabited the coast between the mountain and the Danube, were subject to them, as were the Agriani, who dwelt in the mountains along the upper course of the Strymon, even a few Pæonian tribes recognised their supremacy. Sitalces, the son of Teres, reigned over the Odrysæan realm within these boundaries.

The monarchy was absolute. We are not told that the people were ever consulted or that any voice in the decision of public affairs was conceded them, or that the king in general was bound by laws or a constitution. In the event of war he summoned all men capable of bearing arms: at the end of the war they were dismissed. There was not the slightest trace of a standing army with its strict military organisation and efficient training. Next to the king there were dynasts, or local chiefs, whose power was naturally weaker when the king was strong, and stronger when the king was weak. The taxes which accrued to the king from the country itself and from some Hellenic colonies on the seacoasts amounted, according to Thucydides, at their highest total to 400 talents of silver annually; but in addition to these he received presents of gold and silver, embroidered and plain stuffs and many other things, the value of which is said to have equalled the amount of the taxes. The Thracians thought it more blessed to receive than to give, and it was difficult for any one to accomplish his object without distributing lavish presents. The more influential a man was, the more he favoured this custom; the king, naturally, obtained the most, and his wealth increased with his power. Obviously this was a great cause of official uncertainty, and under such circumstances there was no thought of an organised administration. Nobles are mentioned among the Odrysæ. The court and immediate circle round the king were composed of them or they resided on their estates, ready to

go to war as cavalry when necessary, and what Herodotus said of Thracians in general holds good of them — namely, that agriculture was regarded by them as dishonourable and disgraceful, and that only the life of the soldier and robber pleased them. By the side of these nobles there must naturally have been “commons,” for how else could the cultivation of the fields and gardens, for which the territory of the Odrysæ was famous, have been carried on? These commons, or peasants, composed the infantry in time of war.

Sitalces, the son and successor of Teres, had the command over a very considerable force (one hundred and fifty thousand men are spoken of). As an ally of Athens he interfered in the affairs of Macedonia and Chalcidice: we shall see later on why this expedition proved fruitless to him — a few years later (424 B.C.) Sitalces fell in a campaign against the Triballi on the Danube. This shows that he was eager to extend his power over the Thracian tribes. But soon afterwards the Odrysæan kingdom broke up for lack of a firm basis. The various tribes that composed the kingdom submitted, indeed, to the iron hand of one who knew how to keep them together, but they always struggled for independence whenever that strict rule was relaxed.

Under Seuthes and Medocus, the successors of Sitalces, the power of the local chiefs was strengthened, and they became more and more independent of the superior king. One of these, Cotys, succeeded (383 B.C.) in overthrowing the hereditary dynasty and making himself sole monarch. Though he was sensual and fond of pleasure, he was capable and vigorous. He made it his object to conquer the Thracian Chersonese. When the Athenians recovered from the disastrous termination of the Peloponnesian war and proceeded to reconquer the towns on the Thracian Chersonese which had been lost to them, they came into collision with Cotys. In this war, which with the exception of a successful campaign carried on by the capable Timotheus (364 B.C.), was conducted by Athens with inefficient commanders and slight resources, victory rested with the Thracian king: he conquered Sestus and other places, and about the year 360 Athens possessed only the two small places Crithotæ and Elæus.

After the death of Cotys (359) his kingdom was divided. His son, Cersebleptes, held the territory east of the Hebrus, while Amadocus ruled over the territory between the Hebrus and Nestus, and Berisades, from Nestus to the Strymon. Simultaneously Philip came to the throne in the neighbouring state to the west, Macedonia, and was destined soon to interfere in the affairs of Thrace (see below, p. 100).

C. THE MACEDONIANS

(a) *Physical Characteristics of Macedonia and its Oldest Settlers* — The land lying between the courses of the Axius and Haliacmon, which afterwards belonged to Macedonia, was, so far as the materials at our disposal allow us to trace its history backwards, at one time occupied by Thracian tribes. While a rich, fertile plain, encircled by mountains, lay between the lower courses of the Axius and the Haliacmon towards the sea, the upper stretches of these rivers enclosed a wild and partly inaccessible mountain district, which, inhabited by various nationalities, long preserved its independence. At a remote but fairly definite period there dwelt round Mount Bermius those Phrygian tribes

which later crossed over to Asia Minor and subjugated and cultivated the land named after them (cf. pp. 48 and 82). But the celebrated rose-gardens round Bermius, which were called in antiquity the gardens of Midas on account of their luxuriance and the fragrant scent of their roses, preserved the remembrance of the Phrygians once settled there, whose kings were called alternately Midas and Gordius. A remnant of these oldest inhabitants must, however, have remained there, for when Mardonius in the year 492 undertook at the orders of Darius an expedition against Greece his army was attacked in Macedonia by the Thracian Phrygians (Brygians) and suffered severe losses. Still, as the main body of the Phrygians had left these regions, other Thracian tribes occupied them. Without our being able to assign fixed limits, we may say that the Cordæans dwelt afterwards on the Bermius range, the Pierians on the Haliaeum and southward to Olympus, the Edomans in Mygdonia east of Axius, and the Bottiaeans to the west. It is an historical fact that even these nations did not remain in the same regions, but were all pushed further westward by the Macedonians, who pressed on victoriously and gave to the whole country between Olympus and the Strymon their own name — namely, Macedonia.

(b) *The Immigration of the Macedonians.*—It is not known when the Macedonians first appeared. They are considered rightly to be a people closely related to the Hellenes. When the Greeks migrated into Hellas the Macedonians remained behind somewhere in the Epirot Mountains, and then, driven out, doubtless, by the pressure of the Illyrian tribes southward, crossed the Pindus range and sought settlements on its eastern side. The ancients were well aware that the Macedonians had migrated into the land afterwards called Macedonia; but the ancient legend connected the royal race of the Macedonians, the Argeadæ, with the Temenidæ in Argos; three brothers of this race (Gauanes, Acropus, and Perdiccas) fled from their home to Illyria and thence came to Upper Macedonia; there they entered into the service of the king at first as common labourers. Dismissed and pursued by their master, they were saved from his horsemen by a swollen river. Subsequently they settled in a district of Lower Macedonia, and finally subdued the rest of Macedonia. This myth may serve to illustrate the connection of the Macedonians with the Hellenes and to throw light on the bitterness of the struggle by which the conquest of the land was accomplished; but it does not solve the mystery which wraps the earliest history of the people.

The youngest of the three brothers, Perdiccas, is celebrated as the first king of the Macedonians. This princely race, which resided in Egae, succeeded not only in founding a dominion in Lower Macedonia, but also in making their supremacy recognised among the neighbouring tribes of Upper Macedonia. Together with the superior king, there ruled for a considerable time longer, especially in the mountain districts (Lyncestis and Elimiotis), various kings, who were, however, under suzerainty of the King of Macedonia, with whom they had an armed alliance. Macedonian history is full of struggles of the central power against these border-chiefs, who were often rebellious and strove after greater independence until the strong arm of Philip reduced them to order.

The king was not a master over slaves, like the Asiatic despots, but the head of free men, and his sovereignty rested not on power, but on birth and character.

He was the leader of the people in war, the supreme priest and judge, but in criminal cases he did not judge alone, for the assembly of free men decided such matters. Among the Macedonians there were nobles and peasants: the nobility furnished the cavalry, the peasants were only called out in case of emergency, and then formed the infantry. It was only the later kings who initiated regular levies of the peasants and formed them into an army renowned far and wide. In early times there were no manufacturing towns in the country. The people of Macedonia were a peasant and shepherd race, restricted to the interior and cut off from the sea, where the more important towns, Therma, Pydna, and Methone, were Greek settlements.

(c) *The History of Macedonia from King Amyntas to Philip.*—The oldest history of Macedonia is obscure. There is, indeed, a list of kings mentioned, but these are for us little more than names. It is not until Amyntas I. (c. 540-498 B.C.) that the Macedonian kingdom is brought nearer to us, thus first from its connection with world-stirring events we gain a fuller knowledge of Macedonia. Thrace, as is sufficiently well known (see above, pp. 57 and 77), was, after the Scythian expedition of Darius, subdued by the Persian general Megas-zus, who was left behind in Europe. Even Amyntas of Macedonia submitted to the Persian king, but remained prince of his own land, and was merely forced to pay tribute and furnish troops.

In this position remained his son and successor, Alexander (498-454 B.C.), who was compelled to follow Xerxes on his campaign against Greece, although in his heart he was favourably disposed towards the Greeks. He proved his friendliness to Greece whenever he could. At Plataea on the night before the attack arranged by Mardonius, he communicated the Persian plan to the Athenian generals and thus contributed to the splendid victory of the Greeks. After the retreat of the Persians from Europe the subjection of Alexander naturally ended. He was from that time an ally and friend of Athens until the formation of the Athenian maritime league firmly established the hegemony of Athens on the Thracian-Macedonian coast and inspired the king with mistrust. At the end of his reign he adopted a hostile attitude towards Athens, and he owed it to the friendship of Cimon that his country escaped a devastating attack of the Athenian fleet. His admission to the Olympian games and the victory he won there were very important for him. By these acts his own origin and that of his race was declared Hellenic, although his people continued to be regarded as barbarians by the Greeks. Macedonia owed to him the acquisition of the district of Bisaltia around Lake Prasias. By this means Macedonia extended her territory to the Strymon and came into the possession of mines, which produced a rich revenue for the king. Under him Macedonia included all the country from the Caudavian Mountains to the Strymon and from Olympus northward as far as the mountains of the upper Axios. Of the Greek coast towns, Therma and Pydna, at any rate, were forced then to recognise the Macedonian rule. His son and successor, Perdiccas II. (454-413 B.C.), had during his reign to face a difficult situation. At first he was in alliance with Athens; but when, in 432 B.C., the Athenians concluded an alliance with Derdas, chief of the Elimoti, who was at war with Perdiccas, and with his own brother Philip, from whom the part of the kingdom which lay eastward of the middle course of the Axios

had seceded, Perdiccas joined the enemies of Athens. The rule of Athens weighed so heavily on her subjects that there was no lack of discontented and hostile spirits. Perdiccas availed himself of this state of affairs. Through his exertions the defection of Potidaea and the other Chalcidian towns from Athens was accomplished. By his counsel the Chalcidians destroyed their small places on the coast and went in a body to the newly founded town of Olynthus. This was the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. Athens sent immediately a fleet and troops to Chalcidice. Derdas, the opponent of Perdiccas, and Philip joined the Athenian commander, who, too weak to attack Potidaea vigorously, had invaded Macedonia. They captured Therma and besieged Pydna. A new Athenian naval expedition, bearing troops under Callias, joined the army encamped before Pydna and compelled the king to make terms. When the Athenians subsequently marched away to Potidaea, Perdiccas declared the convention which had been forced from him void, and sent help to the Potidaeans. But though they made him leader of their cavalry, he could not undertake the command in person, for his presence in his country was essential. He fought with success against Derdas and Philip. The latter was forced to give way, and fled to Sitalces, King of the Odrysæ, by whom he hoped to be reinstated into power, Athens being allied to Sitalces (cf. above, p. 86). Perdiccas was, however, able to divert the danger which an alliance of Athens, Sitalces, and his fugitive brother threatened; he won over the King of the Odrysæ by promises, which we unfortunately do not know, not to restore Philip and to negotiate a peace between Macedonia and Athens. This was actually completed: Perdiccas received Therma back from the Athenians and was bound in return to support them in their struggle against the Chalcidians. We hear no more of Derdas, who evidently recognised again the suzerainty of the king. A most serious danger threatened when the Thracians invaded (429 B.C.) the land of Perdiccas, who had not carried out his promises to Sitalces, in order to make Amyntas, son of Philip who had died in the meantime, king of all Macedonia and to make the Chalcidian towns subject to Athens. Sitalces entered Macedonia with his powerful army and marched, *plumbat* and devastating along the Axios, down to the coast. Contrary to the preconcerted arrangement, the Athenian fleet was not ready on the spot to attack the Chalcidian towns in cooperation with him. The Odrysæans contented themselves with laying waste the plains, and the fortified towns remained unharmed. When winter began and there came a growing scarcity of food, they withdrew. Perdiccas again extricated himself out of his difficulties by diplomacy: he won over Seuthes, nephew of Sitalces, who had great influence, by the promise to give him his sister to wife with a rich dowry; and he this time really carried out his promise. The pretender Amyntas was given up, and we hear nothing more of him.

Perdiccas had afterwards to sustain a war with Arrhibæus, chief of the Lyncesti, and called in the aid of the Spartans. Since at the same time the Chalcidians desired the help of Sparta, Brasidas marched in 424 B.C. through Thessaly to Macedonia. Athens now declared war against Perdiccas. The expectation which Perdiccas had entertained that Brasidas would subdue the rebellious chiefs of the Lyncesti was, however, not realised. In the first campaign no battle resulted at all, since Brasidas wished to reconcile the two antagonists, and not to strengthen the power of Perdiccas by the subjection of Arrhibæus.

Since a reconciliation, however, could not be effected, Brasidas concluded an agreement with the Lyncestian and withdrew. In the second campaign, however, Brasidas and Perdiccas advanced into Lyncestis and defeated Arrhibæus at first, but without following up or making use of the victory. When, therefore, the Macedonians were seized with panic at the mere rumour of the arrival of those extraordinarily dreaded Illyrians and of their union with the enemy and fled in the night, Brasidas, too, was compelled to retreat. This was the end of the Macedonian alliance with Sparta. Once more Perdiccas made advances to Athens and concluded a second treaty with her; but he did not play a conspicuous part at all in the war between Athens and Sparta that was being fought in Chalcidice. When he died in 413 B.C. he left the kingdom, which he had rescued by foresight and astuteness from the greatest dangers, as extensive as when he inherited it.

By his lawful wife, Cleopatra, Perdiccas left a son, seven years old, for whom the crown was destined, and also a bastard, Archelaus, who is said to have been born to him by a slave of his elder brother Alcetes. He was appointed, it would seem, by the dying king to be regent and guardian of the infant successor to the throne, but this did not satisfy Archelaus. He first put out of his way Alcetes, who, being addicted to drink, had won for himself the surname of the Funnel. He destroyed also Alexander, the son of Alcestes. He invited them to a banquet, and when they were drunk he had them thrown by night into a cart, which drove off with them — nobody knew whither. It was then the turn of the heir to the crown. He was drowned in a cistern. Archelaus told his mother that the boy had run after a goose, had fallen into the water, and had perished there. This was the story told of Archelaus in Athens. It may not be all true, and much may be exaggerated or false. This much is certain that he availed himself of foul means to seize the throne. However, the services he rendered Macedonia justify the supposition that he felt himself called to rule, the advancement and development of the country in the way he thought right and profitable could, he believed, be carried out only by him as king.

Thucydides says that Archelaus did more for his kingdom than all his predecessors combined. Frequently, when the Thracians and the Illyrians had made inroads, Macedonia had keenly felt the want of strong-walled places, where the inhabitants of the plains with their belongings might find refuge and might offer resistance in conjunction with the townsfolk. Now the limited number of fortified towns was increased, and by this means the security of the inhabitants was strengthened. At any rate, when their hostile neighbours raided the land the inhabitants could no longer be carried off equally with their goods. With increased security the industry of the inhabitants was bound to increase. Archelaus promoted the development of the land by making roads and contributed largely towards rendering the interior more accessible. But the more Macedonia came into contact with the Greek civilisation through intercourse with the industrial towns on the coast, the more urgently did it require a suitable reorganisation of its army in order to win a place among the hostile and warlike states. It had repeatedly interfered in foreign affairs during the course of the Peloponnesian War as the ally of one or the other of the warring powers, and the defects of its own military system must have clearly appeared as a result. Archelaus recognised the defects and remedied them. His army consisted no longer, as formerly,

of cavalry exclusively, but he added to his forces infantry, which he armed after the fashion of the Greek Hoplites and drilled in Greek style, whereas previously the national levy, when emergency required it, had been a badly armed and badly drilled rabble. We may assume that the value of his innovations lay in his making the infantry a permanent part of the Macedonian army. The nobility supplied the cavalry, as before, while the peasants, who now were brought into military service, composed the infantry.

What Archelaus aimed at, Philip II. was destined one day to carry on — that is, to liberate the country from its narrow limitations and to conquer a place for it among civilised states.

Besides this, Archelaus was desirous of raising his people to a higher plane of civilisation. He always had Greek artists and poets living at his court in Pella. He founded at Dion, on the slopes of Olympus, a festival in honour of Zeus, marked by musical and gymnastic contests, such as were held in Greece; and Euripides composed for the inauguration of this festival his drama *Archelaus*, in which he treated the history of the ancestor of the royal house of Macedon, whom arbitrarily, out of regard for his patron, he called Archelaus. Cultured himself, he favoured Greek culture and learning when and where he could, so that they gradually spread from the court among the other classes of the people.

There are few warlike occurrences to mention in the reign of Archelaus. In 410-409 he brought back the rebellious town of Pydna to its allegiance and waged a war with Arrhibaeus, prince of the Lyncesti, and Sirrhas, the dynast of the Elimoti, who, apparently disturbed by the strengthening of the kingly power, had invaded lower Macedonia: we know no details about this, except that Archelaus gave one of his daughters to Sirrhas to wife and by this means ended the war. His services consist more in his reforms and in his endeavours to exalt his country. He died in 399 by a violent death, as many of his predecessors and followers. A young Macedonian named Crateas was his murderer. His son, Orestes, a minor, succeeded him under the guardianship of Aeropus, who soon put him out of the way.

The next forty years were filled with struggles for the throne and disturbances of every kind. The dynasties rapidly changed, and the pregnant plans and aims of Archelaus ceased to be carried out. The names, as well as the dates of the reigns of these kings who followed one another quickly, are not certain. Different historians have drawn up different lists of rulers according to the legends they have preferred to follow: Archelaus, Aeropus, Pausanias, Amyntas, Argaeus, Amyntas, or Archelaus, Orestes, Aeropus, Pausanias, Amyntas, Argaeus, Amyntas. We are here little concerned with the names, the picture of calamitous party struggles, which is shown us by that period, remains the same whether we adopt the longer or the shorter list. And, as very often happens, foreign enemies knew how to avail themselves of the internal distractions of the country.

Olynthus held at this time the foremost position in Chalcidice. Situated in front of Macedonia and projecting with three peninsulas into the *Egean Sea*, Chalcidice had been early occupied by the Greeks and possessed a number of flourishing commercial cities and prosperous agricultural towns. Under the influence and guidance of Olynthus the Chalcidian towns had united in a league, which left the individual cities administratively independent, but in other re-

spects was intended to prevent the disastrous splitting up of their strength, since for the common interest the separate states waived all claim to follow a policy of their own, whether in foreign affairs or commercial transactions. In the meetings of the league, attended by delegates from the constituent states, at which the administrative board was chosen, resolutions were passed on the questions of foreign polities, which became binding on the individual states. The same course was adopted in the sphere of commercial policy, just as a war was resolved on by the league and waged by the league, so commercial treaties were subject to the decision of the league. When we add that in the towns, which were members of the league, there existed equality of laws and a citizenship of the league which allowed the acquisition of property and the conclusion of marriages, gave individuals freedom of movement in other states besides their native state, and exempted them from the burdensome barriers which Greek states had formerly erected against each other precisely owing to the citizenship, we can see in this league of the Chalcidian towns a consolidated state, with which the neighbours and even the states of the mother country had to reckon. Potidæa, the most important town of Chalcidice next to Olynthus, had at last joined the league, which directed its efforts towards attaching to itself as many towns as possible, and which did not shrink from forcible measures in order to attain this end. The Bottæans, just as the Acanthians, Mendeans, and Apollonians were not members of the league, since they were unwilling to surrender their political independence; Amphipolis also, the town on the Strymon, held aloof.

Amyntas (II. or III., reigned from about 390-89) joined this league of the Chalcidian towns soon after his accession to the throne. He concluded with it not only an alliance for mutual help in the event of either party to the treaty being attacked, but also a commercial treaty, in which advantages were conceded to the Chalcidians over other states in articles to be exported from Macedonia. By these measures Amyntas was clearly seeking support against some imminent danger, for he also made concessions of territory to his ally. Unfortunately we are unacquainted with details of the course of events; we only learn that Amyntas was driven by the Illyrians from his land, that Argæus, clearly in concert with these Illyrians, ascended the throne, and that the Chalcidians penetrated into Macedonia in the name of Amyntas and conquered great parts of it, including Pella, the capital. In any case events soon took a favourable turn for Amyntas; supported by the Thessalians he returned after two years of absence with an army, entered his kingdom, and found now that the Chalcidians did not wish to give up the land they had acquired. We hear nothing more of Argæus, he had certainly been quickly deposed.

At this crisis, Amyntas, not being strong enough to face the Chalcidian league by himself, applied to Sparta for help: Acanthus and Apollonia, which had no longer been able alone to defend their autonomy against the encroachments of Olynthus, had already sent envoys there. Sparta, thus solicited for help, consented. In 383 Eudamidas invaded Chalcidice, but with his weak forces (Phœbidas, who was to accompany him had on the way occupied the Cadmea) was unable to undertake any serious operations. Potidæa alone deserted the league and joined Sparta. The next year Teleutias followed him at the head of ten thousand warriors. He had urged Amyntas to spare no efforts to regain possession of his kingdom; to hire troops, since the land that was left

him was too small to yield him an army for the field, and to win over the neighbouring chiefs by presents of money. In accordance with these instructions, Amyntas with a small army and Derdas, chief of the Elimoti with four hundred horsemen joined the Spartan commander in his advance. At the beginning indeed Teleutias gained a victory over the allies under the walls of Olynthus; but after that he sustained a serious reverse and was himself killed. It was left to Polybiades to invest Olynthus by land and sea and to cut it off from all communication. The Olynthians, through stress of hunger, were forced to make terms. The result was that they were obliged to dissolve the Chalcidian league, recognise the supremacy of Sparta, and furnish her with troops. The power of Olynthus, however, was not broken. The city soon revived and stood once more at the head of a powerful confederacy. The conquered territory in Macedonia had of course been given up, and Amyntas thus became again master of all Macedonia.

Chiefly then through the support of foreign powers, Amyntas extricated his kingdom undiminished from its difficulties. The period of distress was followed by years of tranquillity and peace. The political situation of the Greek peninsula was in the king's favour. Sparta, which had just shown her power by the humiliation of Olynthus, was too much taken up by the rise of Thebes and its immense progress under Epaminondas and Pelopidas to be able now to extend her power in Chalcidice. At the same time Athens had succeeded in founding the second Athenian maritime confederacy and in inducing many towns on the Thracian coast as well as on the Chalcidian Peninsula to join it. But Olynthus on the one side, Amphipolis on the other did not enter it. Olynthus, it is true, was for the moment humiliated by Sparta, but still showed a degree of power which commanded respect. Amphipolis, in an extremely favourable situation on the mouth of the Strymon and with a rich *Hinterland* on the highroad from Macedonia and Chalcidice to Thrace, formerly founded by the Athenians from whom it afterwards revolted, was destined to be brought back under the dominion of the Athenians, now that they had again planted themselves firmly in these parts. Athens spared no sacrifices, and equipped fleets and armies to attain that end. Under these circumstances we understand the alliance concluded between Amyntas and Athens, of the terms of which only the aim is preserved to us. Amyntas sought support against the towns of Chalcidice, once his confederates and now his bitter enemies. Athens desired a powerful ally in her endeavour to restore her former power. We know that at the peace congress at Sparta (371 B.C.) Amyntas admitted the claims of Athens to Amphipolis and offered to support her in the reconquest of the town. What indeed can Athens have offered Amyntas as compensation for this proffered assistance? Unfortunately the terms to which the two parties agreed in the proposed alliance have not been preserved. But we shall soon see (cf. below, p. 97) how great a part Amphipolis somewhat later was destined to play once more in the relations of Macedonia to Athens.

An alliance was formed also between Jason of Pheræ and Amyntas of Macedonia. Jason had succeeded in suppressing political dissension in Thessaly, and stood as *Tagus* at the head of a united country. In the midst of the numerous unruly and discontented elements, which must have existed there, when the power of this one man could only be developed at the cost of a number of families

accustomed to exercise a tyranny of their own, he thought it advisable to be on a good footing with his northern neighbours in order that Macedonia might not become a *rendezvous* for his foes. Perhaps also he wished to be able to reckon on the firmly re-established power of Amyntas in executing his own ambitious plans, for he aimed at nothing less than at the hegemony of Greece. From all we know, this treaty started with Jason. The circumstance points to the fact that Amyntas at the end of his reign must have once more obtained an important and undisputed position. But before Jason could carry out his great schemes he was assassinated, and almost at the same time Amyntas also died (370).

In Thessaly Jason's power, after the short reigns of his brothers Polydorus and Polyphron, who were likewise assassinated, was transferred to his nephew Alexander. The successors of Jason by their cruelty and tyranny soon roused universal discontent, which they on their side sought to overcome by murder and banishment. Exiled nobles came from Larissa to Pella. Urged by them and other Thessalians Alexander of Macedon, the eldest of the three sons of Amyntas and his wife Eurydice, marched into Thessaly, drove out the garrisons of the Tyrant of Pheræ from Larissa and Crannon and occupied the two towns. This proceeding did not please the Thessalians, who wished to be freed from the yoke of Alexander of Pheræ, but not to have two lords instead of one, and they now solicited the help of the Thebans. Meantime the Macedonian king Alexander had been obliged to return to his country, where Ptolemy of Alorus, the paramour of Eurydice, was grasping at the crown. The garrisons which he had left behind in Thessaly could not long hold out without him and thus his attempt to extend his power beyond the borders of his own kingdom was frustrated. But this was not the worst. In Macedonia itself foreign influence was destined once more to become predominant for some years. The Thebans, called in by the Thessalians, came under the leadership of Pelopidas and arranged matters as best suited their own interests. From Thessaly Pelopidas went also to Macedonia and brought about a reconciliation between Alexander and Ptolemy. But soon after his departure Alexander was murdered by Ptolemy, who became the guardian of Perdiccas, the second son of Amyntas, heir to the throne but a minor. New complications ensued. A certain Pausanias came forward as claimant to the crown, occupied Anthemus and Therma with Greek mercenaries and actually found supporters in the country. Under these circumstances Ptolemy and Eurydice, who were now married, turned to the Athenian general Iphicrates, who at that very time was cruising on the coast of Thrace. Pausanias was driven out of the country by him. But the Thebans, anxious not to lose once more their recently acquired influence in Macedonia sent Pelopidas there again (368 B.C.). He concluded a treaty with Ptolemy, the regent and guardian of Perdiccas, in virtue of which men were to be furnished to the Theban army and hostages given; among these latter Philip, the third son of Amyntas and eventually king, came to Thebes.

The rule of Ptolemy did not last long. In 365 he was murdered by Perdiccas who now ascended the throne as king. He withdrew from the influence of Thebes and openly took the side of the Athenians, lending them assistance in their wars against the newly formed Chalcidian league, which once more was headed by Olynthus. Afterwards, however, he became hostile to the Athenians — we do not know exactly on what grounds. We might conjecture that the capture

of Pydna by the Athenians, which occurred at this time and was connected with the conquest of Potidæa and Torone in Chalcidice, had made Perdiccas an opponent of Athens. The Athenian arms won a victory over the Macedonian forces, and the contending parties made a compromise, the terms of which, it was said at Athens, were too favourable to Perdiccas, and cost the Athenian commander, Callisthenes, his life (362 B.C.). Perdiccas fell in a great battle against the Illyrians.

(d) *King Philip.*—After the death of Perdiccas, Philip, youngest son of King Amyntas, took over the government on behalf of his infant nephew: but soon after (we do not indeed know the exact date) the nobles and national army of Macedonia summoned him to be king, and thus conferred on him the dignity and position for which he showed himself amply qualified from the very outset. Since more than four thousand Macedonians had perished with Perdiccas, the whole land was a prey to consternation and despair. The Illyrians invaded Macedonia and occupied the adjoining parts. Owing to this, their northern neighbours, the Pæonians were likewise emboldened to invade and plunder the adjacent state. And, as had happened so often before on a change of ruler, kinsmen of the royal house appeared as claimants to the throne. Argæus, one of the claimants, found support at Athens, which had long been fruitlessly trying to reconquer Amphipolis and now hoped to realise its object at last. In return for the promise of Argæus to help conquer Amphipolis, the Athenians supported him with troops, which were landed in Methone by their Strategus, Mantias, and then led to Ægæ by the claimant. Another claimant, Pausanias mentioned above, found support in the Thracians. This hopeless and complicated state of affairs showed only too clearly the point at which an energetic ruler must begin in order to lead his country onwards to a prosperous development and a more glorious future. The surrounding barbarian tribes would have to be subdued and brought to respect the power of Macedonia.

And when this was successfully accomplished, Macedonia could not win a more important place in the political system of the old world, until it was economically independent of the Hellenes to whom the coast belonged. Macedonia could only develop its powers, when the export of its natural products by sea was open to it, and when the import of foreign commodities was facilitated. But up till now it had been economically dependent on the cities on the coast—namely, Olynthus, the Chalcidian league, and Athens, which under Timotheus had again obtained a firm footing in Chalcidice, had subdued the rich city of Potidæa and Torone in the Olynthian war, and had actually conquered the originally Macedonian towns of Pydna and Methone on the western shore of the Thermaic Gulf, so that no seaport worthy of mention was anywhere left to Macedonia. In fact this remoteness from the coast had led to the circumstance that foreign states (we may call the reader's attention to the attacks of Thebes, above, p. 94) obtained and exercised political influence in Macedonia. But the success which the previous kings of the country had failed to obtain despite their numerous attempts, was destined to attend the efforts of the young and energetic Philip to free himself from this cramped situation.

As we have already seen, Philip had been surrendered by Ptolemy as a hostage to the Thebans, and had thus early learnt in his own person the im-

potency and weakness of his country. However painful to the young patriot may have been his sojourn in Thebes, it certainly was beneficial to him: for at that time, this town, through the services of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, stood at the zenith of its power. It is not known when he was allowed to return to Pella, but certainly it was before the death of his brother Perdiccas. Beyond this we know nothing of his youth wherever he appeared afterwards he showed himself to be no rude and unschooled barbarian, but emphatically a man who valued Greek education and culture and knew how to appropriate it for himself. This could not have been due merely to his stay at Thebes. In Macedonia itself progress had in the meanwhile been made on the path pointed out by Archelaus. King Perdiccas, too, loved Hellenic art and Hellenic learning.

Philip undertook a difficult task, when he first assumed the government for his nephew, but he showed natural capacity for it. When Argeæus, rejected by the citizens of Ægæ, returned to Methone, he attacked and defeated him. This first success inspirited the Macedonians and filled them afresh with that confidence and courage, which had failed them after their defeat by the Illyrians. But this victory had far more important results: Philip sent back without a ransom the Athenians who were taken prisoners in the battle, and thus paved a way towards a reconciliation with Athens. A secret treaty was arranged with the Athenian envoys, which on their return was laid before the council, but not before the popular assembly. In return for Philip's promise to conquer Amphipolis for them, the Athenians were willing to surrender Pydna to him.

But before this Philip had first to secure his frontiers against his enemies. At the beginning of the summer of 358 B.C. he commenced the campaigns which were necessary partly to secure the frontiers, partly to win back the portions of Macedonian territory occupied by the enemy. Philip turned his arms first against the Pæonians, whose king Agis had died about this time. After defeating them he forced them to submit to the power of Macedonia. He then marched against the Illyrians, whose king Bardylis offered peace on the terms of recognising the *status quo*. Philip could have peace if he waived all claim to the territory occupied by Bardylis. But Philip rejected the conditions. After a fierce battle, in which Philip himself commanded his right wing, the Macedonians were finally victors. The prize of victory for them and their king was the expulsion of the Illyrians from the Macedonian towns which they had previously occupied. Thus triumphant in the North and West, Philip turned his arms the next year (357 B.C.) against Amphipolis, as he had promised in the secret treaty with the Athenians. Strangely enough the Athenians themselves took no steps to secure the capture of the long-coveted town, but even rejected the offer of surrender made by the Amphipolitans to avoid becoming subjects to the Macedonians. Apparently they trusted Philip's promises; yet the conduct of the Athenians is the less intelligible since, after the successful storming of Amphipolis, they had no intention of fulfilling the duty imposed on them by the treaty of giving up Pydna to Philip. Did they think to keep the one town and to acquire the other in addition? The king did not hold this view. The leaders of the Athenian party in Amphipolis were banished, and the town became thenceforth Macedonian, even though its civic independence was left it, and it was compensated by other acts of favour for the loss of the freedom it had so often and so long defended. Not long after, Pydna also was captured and again incorporated

into the Macedonian kingdom, to which it had belonged before its occupation by the Athenians. Philip thus became master of these towns, both of which were strategically important since the one commanded the road to Thrace, the other the road to Thessaly. Both also opened for the king the way to the sea.

But what made the possession of Amphipolis especially valuable was that, simultaneously with, or shortly after, its capture, the small town of Crenides, which had been founded by the Thasians, being attacked by the surrounding Thracians sought and obtained the help of Philip. Crenides received new settlers and was called Philippi after its new founder. This new town, which soon flourished and found in the kingdom of Macedonia a powerful protection against its barbarian neighbours, presented on its side a favourable base from which to command the mountains of Pangaeum, which were rich in precious metals and the well wooded plain of Datus, with the possession of Crenides Philip had acquired possession of all this district. The gold mines were systematically worked and are said to have brought him in 1000 talents yearly. And while Amphipolis at the mouth of the Strymon offered him a port from which his ships might sail, Datus supplied him with the requisite timber and pitch for ship-building.

The Athenians now came to recognise the disadvantages connected with having another pull one's chestnuts out of the fire instead of doing the task oneself. They vented their indignation in high sounding public resolutions. The treaty between them and Philip was of course broken off. Athens at the moment lacked the means and also the strength which proceeds from a definitely directed policy, to be able to carry on the war against the Macedonian king with prospect of success. It had to fight with the rebellious members of its confederation, Byzantium, Chios, Cos and others, and made great sacrifices in order to bring them back to their obedience. The Thracian Chersonese, the possession of which was the more important to them because through it they commanded the passage into the Black Sea, had to be defended by them against the continued attacks of the Thracian princes. And the defects which had often calamitously affected and crippled the conduct of the campaign in the struggle against Cotys and his son Cersebleptes (cf. p. 86, above) during recent years — the indolence and self-indulgence of the Athenian citizens, their reluctance to take the field, the constant fluctuations to which their party-life was subject — were all unfortunately apparent when war was declared on Philip.

It might have been supposed that Athens would now, as a matter of course, have been anxious to come to terms with Olynthus and the league of the Chalcidian towns, in order to obtain a base of operations in the immediate vicinity of Macedonia, and to oppose Philip vigorously in concert with the powerful resources of Olynthus; especially since Olynthus had already sent an embassy to Athens and had taken measures to arrange the matters in dispute, when Philip marched against Amphipolis. Their wish was not then acceded to; and now after the outbreak of the war, we do not hear that Athens sought allies in Chalcidice against Macedonia. On the contrary Philip joined Olynthus and its league. He conceded to them Anthemus, a Macedonian town, and promised to conquer Potidaea for them, which, situated in the immediate vicinity of Olynthus, formed by its position the key to the peninsula of Pallene, and had been made an Athenian possession by Timotheus. Philip now advanced with a strong army

against Potidæa, took it after a long siege, since the Athenian relieving fleet came too late, and sold the inhabitants into slavery, while he let the Athenian citizens, who had settled there, depart without a ransom. The town was destroyed and its territory given over to the Olynthians (356 B.C.). Thus Athens had once more lost a strong position.

About this time the Athenians negotiated a treaty of alliance with Cetriporis, the ruler of the western part of Thrace, who was indignant with Philip on account of the loss of Crenides and the adjoining coast, and with the two princes of Paonia and Illyria, Grabus and Lyppeius, old enemies of Macedonia (356-355). In the treaty assistance was expressly promised to Cetriporis in order to wrest Crenides and "other places" from the king. The concessions made to Grabus and Lyppeius, and the promises made on their part by the three allies to Athens have unfortunately been broken off the stone on which the treaty is inscribed. This league might certainly have caused trouble to Philip. But before the allies were completely prepared and could proceed to united and vigorous action, they were subdued singly so that there was no longer any serious danger threatening Macedonia.

Athens left alone, showed herself no match for the king; she had always been worsted when opposed to him, and she was destined in the further course of the war to reap no laurels. For in the face of the great losses which she had previously suffered, it is of little importance that in 353 the Athenian general, Chares, inflicted a defeat on a Macedonian detachment of mercenaries at Cypsela in Thrace, and that the newly formed Macedonian fleet could only escape his ships by a stratagem, or that here and there Macedonian harbours were occasionally blockaded. Philip, who accompanied the Theban Pammenes on his expedition to Ariobarzanes, the rebellious satrap on the Hellespont, and pushed on as far as the Hebrus, had taken away from the Athenians Abdera and Maronea, towns on the Thracian coast, which had belonged to the Athenian maritime confederacy since 375: these towns remained in the king's hands even after the victory of Chares. Philip indeed turned back, either because the Thracian chief Amadocus in the district of the Hebrus barred the passage through his territory, or because the king wished to avoid a serious collision with Chares: for this time at any rate the Athenians were freed from their fear of a Macedonian invasion of their possessions on the Thracian Chersonese. In the same year however Athens suffered another loss. Philip, returned from Thrace, marched against Methone, which lay north of Pydna and had up till now remained in the possession of the Athenians; after a gallant resistance the citizens surrendered the town, which was plundered and destroyed, they themselves being allowed to withdraw. On this occasion also, as at Potidæa Athenian aid came up too late. Philip himself lost his right eye by an arrow during the siege. Meantime an opportunity presented itself to the king for interfering in Thessaly. Here Alexander of Pheræ had been obliged to surrender the headship of Thessaly, which Jason had held, and was at strife and variance not only with the Aleuadae of Larissa, but with the whole country. Even after his death in 359 his successors Lycophron and Pitholaus were not able even to attain the former position of a Jason. By 361 the Thessalians, who had formed themselves into a league, had concluded an alliance with Athens against the attacks of Alexander; but Athens did nothing to secure for herself the dominant influence in

Thessaly. So she lost here also a favourable opportunity, and by inactivity and want of foresight let things go so far that Philip became master of the situation.

In the so-called third Holy War the Phocians, when attacked by the Amphictyons, especially by the Thebans and Locrians, had made themselves masters of the Temple at Delphi and of its treasures, and had enrolled an army of mercenaries therewith; by which means they were able not merely to repel their antagonists, but also to interfere in the affairs of foreign states. The Dynasts of Pheræ had joined them; the Aleuadæ on the contrary and the Thessalian league called in King Philip. He immediately started for Thessaly, took over the supreme command of the army of the Thessalian league, defeated Phællus, the commander of the Phocians, and occupied Pagasæ, the port of Pheræ. Onomarch, it is true, advanced to bring help, worsted Philip in two battles and drove him out of the country: but the king was not the man to let himself be deterred by this disaster. In the next spring (352 B.C.) he advanced into Thessaly once more, and this time succeeded in checking and completely defeating Onomarch in a spot admirably suited to the manœuvres of his own and the Thessalian cavalry. The forces of the Dynast of Pheræ came too late to aid Onomarch. The Phocian general himself and six hundred mercenaries were left on the field of battle, the prisoners, three thousand in number, were thrown into the sea, which was near, as being robbers of the temple. Phayllus was able to bring only a small number safely to Thermopylae, where the detachments of other friendly states, such as Sparta and Athens, joined him. Philip advanced through Thessaly to Thermopylae: but the occupation of the pass made him turn back. He had indeed no intention of risking the advantages which he had just gained in Thessaly by a defeat at Thermopylae, a pass most difficult to take; yet the rejoicings, especially at Athens, were great, when it was known that Philip was not advancing into the heart of Greece. This result was willingly ascribed to the despatch of the Athenian troops under Nausicles. The consequence of the victory over Onomarch was the capitulation of Pheræ, and the expulsion of the tyrants there, a success which filled the Thessalians with great gratitude towards Philip and made them permanently his allies. From this time Philip was the leader of the Thessalian confederation and commanded their forces, to the maintenance of which the customs from various ports were applied. Thus he attained the object for which his eldest brother, Alexander, had striven in vain.

Meantime affairs in Thrace had taken a turn, which caused Philip to interfere. We have already learned what exertions and trouble it had cost Athens to maintain for herself the Thracian Chersonese, an old Athenian possession, against the attacks of the Thracian princes Cotys and Cersebleptes (cf. above, pp. 86 and 97). For more than ten years war had been waged there against the Thracians, without sufficient forces and therefore without successful results. Athens was not in a position to reduce her restless and conquest-loving neighbours to a state of permanent tranquillity, so that she might enjoy her possessions. Things seemed likely to turn out disastrously, when about 353 B.C. Cersebleptes made peace with the Athenians, and left the Chersonese to them, after evacuating the places conquered by him. But this reconciliation of the former opponents filled the Greek towns of Byzantium and Perinthus with anxious forebodings. They had won their independence from Athens in the war of the league, had left the Athenian maritime confederation and for the moment

indeed were living at peace with Athens but not exactly on terms of special amity. The two towns had also repeatedly suffered at the hands of Cotys and afterwards of Cersebleptes. This anxiety was shared by the above-mentioned Thracian chief in the Hebrus district, Amadocus. He, as well as Byzantium and Perinthus, sought to join Philip of Macedonia and concluded a treaty with him, which was aimed at Cersebleptes but indirectly at the Athenians also. In fact we find Philip soon afterwards in Thrace, pressing forward along the Propontis, on which the kingdom of Cersebleptes lay: here he besieged Heraontaechus, a stronghold of the Thracian princes. The news of this caused great consternation at Athens, and it was resolved to equip a great fleet. But as on so many previous occasions, notwithstanding their resolutions and their good intentions in the beginning, nothing serious was done. When some months afterwards ten ships put to sea, Cersebleptes had already been overthrown and had been forced to make concessions of territory to the allies, and had given his son as hostage. Charidemus, leader of the Greek mercenaries, who had long been with him, was obliged to leave Thraee, and now entered the Athenian service. It must have been in this campaign that Cetriporis, who ruled the part of Thrace which immediately borders on Macedonia and had finally (356 B.C.) attempted to make war on Philip in alliance with Athens and the princes, Grabus and Lypperus (cf. above, p. 98), was dethroned and his kingdom confiscated. Macedonia thus extended as far as the river Nestus.

The results of the long war were unusually favourable to Philip; the country from Thermopylae as far as the Propontis came under his influence, and the last great possession of Athens, the Thracian Chersonese, was now directly menaced. But before this war ended a serious danger was destined to confront the king. As early as 352 B.C., while he was still occupied in Thessaly, Olynthus made peace with its old opponent Athens, contrary to the terms of the treaty entered into with Philip, which enjoined on the allies the joint conclusion of peace with their enemies as well as the declaration of war. Merely Party politics alone induced the Olynthians to take this step: the supporters of Macedonia encountered an opposition which was friendly to Athens, and sought to join the Athenians, and the peace concluded with the latter city was a victory for this party. Besides this, there is no doubt that there prevailed in Athens an intense desire to render the Olynthians hostile to Philip, and that the proper means were employed to create a popular feeling in favour of Athens. But for the time matters rested with the making of peace, and did not go so far as an alliance. Philip first took active measures, when Olynthus received into its walls his half-brother, who sought to gain the Macedonian crown, and refused to surrender him at the king's request. He then advanced into Chalcidice with a strong army, and Olynthus concluded an alliance with Athens (349 B.C.). There Demosthenes delivered his first speech against Philip; and his Olynthic orations sharpened the consciences of his fellow-townsmen, who by their levity and dilatoriness had largely contributed to Philip's successes. He did not, however, succeed in completely rousing the Athenians and making them exert the force which he considered necessary and from which alone he augured success. Charax, it is true, was immediately ordered to Olynthus with 30 triremes and 2000 Peltasts, and under Charidemus 18 more ships with 4000 mercenaries and 150 horsemen sailed for the same destination: but the citizen Hoplites remained

at home. Of these 2000 were at last sent, with 300 horsemen, when Olynthus appealed urgently for help, being hard pressed by Philip, who had subdued one town after another in Chalcidice and, in spite of the preliminary successes of Charidemus, had actually invested the town itself. But they came too late. In the interval Olynthus had fallen. The town was destroyed and the land divided among the Macedonians (in the summer of 348 B.C.). The fall of Olynthus produced consternation at Athens. The ten years' war with Philip had brought a succession of disasters to the Athenians, their possessions in Chalcidice and on the Macedonian coast were lost. The prospect of once more acquiring Amphipolis, which they formerly possessed, was gone completely. Gone too, was the hope they had entertained that by promptly bringing aid to Olynthus and holding it against the king, they might gain there at any rate a firm foothold, from which they might perhaps regain their influence in Chalcidice. Now indeed it seemed dangerously probable that they would lose the Chersonese also and their old possessions Imbros, Lemnos, Scyros through a Macedonian attack. There was the additional difficulty that large sums of money had been already employed in the war (Demosthenes and Æschines estimate them at 1500 talents) and the Athenian finances had thus been considerably drained. Especially after the war of the league, the money contributions of the allied states were much diminished while the expenses of the public treasury, the theatre and law courts had rather increased. The prospect of obtaining help from outside was destroyed, since not one of the Greek states, on the invitation of the Athenians to make common war upon Philip, had shown any readiness. We can well understand the desire for peace that prevailed at Athens.

The revulsion at Athens in favour of Philip was produced by an event quite unimportant in itself. An Athenian citizen, Phrynon of Rhamnus, having fallen into the hands of Macedonian privateers during the Olympian Truce of God, bought his freedom, and on his return to his native town, begged his fellow-citizens to send an envoy with him to Philip, in order if possible to recover the ransom. This was done. Ctesiphon journeyed with him to Macedonia. Philip received the two courteously, refunded the ransom and made it known to the Athenians how unwillingly he was at war with them, and how gladly he would be reconciled to them. The effect of this message was that at Athens a decree of the people passed after the fall of Amphipolis, by which it was forbidden to receive heralds or envoys of peace from Philip, was repealed on the motion of Philocrates. And the good feeling towards Philip was still further increased when, on the application of the Athenian people, he released without ransom two Athenian citizens who had been captured by him. These on their return to Athens praised both the friendly attitude of the king and his strong inclination for peace.

The Athenians therefore resolved to send an embassy to Philip and to enter into negotiations for peace. The terms were settled in Macedonia, and then, after the return of the Athenian ambassadors, and the immediate arrival of two representatives of Philip, were discussed in the popular assembly at Athens and accepted after a warm debate. The recognition of the *status quo*, that is, the abandonment of all claim to Amphipolis, Potidaea and all the other former Athenian possessions on the Chalcidian and Thracian coast was the chief condition of the so-called "Peace of Philocrates"; the possession of the Thracian

Chersonese was on the other hand guaranteed to Athens. A second article extended the peace to the allies on both sides. Under "allies" however Philip understood only the members of the Attic league, while at Athens there was a disposition to include under this term the Phocians and Cersebleptes. This changed the whole aspect of affairs. The king was at the moment in Thrace, waging war against Cersebleptes and was urged by the Thebans to bring them help against the Phocians — the most favourable opportunity that could be imagined for interfering in Greek affairs and for firmly establishing the Macedonian influence on the other side of Thermopylæ. Since his representatives firmly refused to include the Phocians and Cersebleptes expressly in the peace, Demosthenes' contention was agreed to, namely that the Phocians and Cersebleptes were not mentioned in the terms of the peace, and that therefore "allies" meant in Philip's sense of the word only the states represented in the synod. On these terms peace and an alliance were concluded, and the treaty sworn at Athens.

In order that the king might take the oath to it, a new embassy was sent to him, in which among others Demosthenes and Aeschines took part. On Demosthenes' motion the council ordered the ambassadors to start without delay and to hasten to the king by the shortest route; for as soon as he had taken the oath the orator hoped he would make no further conquests in Thrace. Demosthenes certainly believed that by his personal negotiations with the king he would be able to obtain the inclusion of Cersebleptes in the peace and at the same time avert the danger threatening the Phocians. But the embassy had to wait for Philip at Pella, and when he at last gave audience to the Athenian envoys, he declared that he neither would nor could abandon his Thracian conquests or desist from war with the Phocians; openly and before the eyes of all (besides Athens, other Greek states had sent embassies to Pella) he made preparations for this war. If Demosthenes had calculated on an alteration of the terms of peace through personal negotiations, he had deceived himself: and if afterwards in his orations he made not himself but his fellow-envoys and the craft of Philip responsible for this disappointment, his conduct is, humanly, quite intelligible. When Philip was actually on the march against Phocis, he signed the peace, with the conditions laid down at Athens.

The Macedonian king was now about to realise the scheme that may long have been floating before his mind, the establishment of his influence in Greece. When he marched against Thermopylæ, Phalæcus, the Phocian general, and 8000 mercenaries laid down their arms. Phocis was in Philip's hand. His request that the Athenians should allow their army to join his, in order to settle the Phocian question in common, was rejected. The feeling in Athens was now changed; and the bitter opponents of Philip, especially Demosthenes and Hegesippus, made their influence felt. Thus the Athenians were obliged to approve and allow things to be done, without sharing in the work, for they were helpless to prevent them, and could not make up their minds to join Philip in his task of reorganising Hellenic affairs. The Amphictyonic Council, summoned by Philip, gave him the two votes of the Phocians and the Hegemony, and decreed the destruction of all the Phocian towns and the settlement of the inhabitants in villages — a penalty which they had well deserved, on account of their violation and plundering of the temple at Delphi, contrary to the law of nations, and

of their numerous cruelties during the ten years' war waged by them. In alliance and amity with Thebes, and in possession of the pass of Thermopylæ Philip could now march at any moment into Greece, as the decree of the Amphictyons allowed him at any time to interfere in Greek affairs. Thus an important step had been taken towards the uniting of Greece, continually disturbed by tribal and party feuds and exhausted by ceaseless wars, under the headship of Macedonia. In the course of this war lasting twelve years, Philip not only made his country immune against the assaults of neighbouring powers that had formerly harassed it so often, but had brought Macedonia as an equal member into the state system of the time, and had actually created for it a leading position among the kindred tribes of the Hellenes. Philip never planned a conquest of Greece, as his opponents falsely said of him, but a Macedonian Hegemony.

In Athens the opposition which existed against the prevailing system of government increased after the peace of Philocrates; the discredit brought by it on the city was finally evident to all. In addition to this, the opposition pointed to the glorious past of Athens, compared the present with it, and managed to remind the citizens from time to time that the headship of Greece belonged to them and not to a "Barbarian" (for as such the radical orators took pleasure in stigmatising Philip). They opposed the ambitious Macedonian Philip by appealing to the spirit of nationality. Indeed it is quite comprehensible that a nation with a great past should stake everything in order to remain in possession of its ancient power, and should refuse to divest herself of it in favour of another without a struggle. Up to this moment, Athens had certainly shown merely weakness where strength might have been expected. Nevertheless she roused herself once more.

This was the work of the great Demosthenes. He and his party had set their minds on a war from the very outset, not merely an Athenian however, but a Hellenic war. He himself, as other orators of his party, frequently visited the Peloponnese, Eubœa and other parts of Greece, in order to effect an alliance with Athens. For the condition of affairs in Greece had driven the states of the Peloponnese (Megalopolis, Elis, Messene) which were continually attacked by Sparta, as well as the foremost towns of Eubœa (which Athens in 348 B.C. had alienated by supporting Plutarch, Tyrant of Eretria) into the arms of Philip. The important point now was to bring over to Athens the states which had gone to the side of Macedonia: in short, the Macedonian influence had here as in other states to be destroyed, and the Athenian once more to be made predominant. And it may well be ascribed to the indefatigable efforts of Demosthenes that four years after the Peace of Philocrates, Athens had concluded an alliance with the Messenians, Argives, Megapolitans, Achæans, and other states (342 B.C.) and that soon afterwards Eubœa, Megara, Corinth and others also joined the league.

It is evident that these conditions could not escape the king's notice. In 344 B.C. he had attacked the Dardanians and Illyrians, those ever restless neighbours of his kingdom, and once more secured his frontiers against them. Then in 343 he had undertaken a campaign in Epirus, in order to depose the Molossian king, Arybbas and to place Alexander, the brother of his wife Olympia, on the throne of his fathers. He had taken this opportunity to subdue for Alexander Cossopia, which adjoins the Molossians on the south, but had desisted from wider operations in these districts, presumably because the Athenians had sent a force to

Aeacnania. It is certain that Arybbas found a hospitable reception in Athens and that to ensure his personal safety he was placed under the protection of the council and the generals, but the resolution to reinstate him in his kingdom with an army was not carried out. Philip would certainly not have allowed that, although he showed great consideration towards Athens. For in the same year he sent Python as envoy to Athens in order to negotiate the alteration of the Peace of Philocrates. The Athenians desired recognition of the principle that either party should be restored to its rightful possessions, and opposed the *status quo* principle, in other words, recognition of their old claims on Amphipolis, Potidaea and their former Thracian and Chalcidian possessions. It was easy to comprehend that Philip could not and would not accede to this demand. In the following year he made offers again to Athens to alter the terms of the Peace. This time he conceded to them the freedom and independence of the Greek towns not included in the treaty, and professed his readiness to submit disputed points to arbitration but Athens replied to this with her former demand that each party should have that which by right belonged to it. Under these circumstances it was hardly possible to avoid a rupture with Philip: and the Athenians soon produced it.

Athens had sent new *Kleruchs* under Diopithes to the Thracian Chersonese which had been guaranteed to her in the Peace of Philocrates. They demanded of Cardia admission into the town and its territory, although by the terms of peace in 346 its independence had been acknowledged. Diopithes obtained mercenaries and commenced an attack on Cardia, which then asked for and obtained a garrison from Philip, its ally. Thereupon Diopithes invaded and pillaged the king's Thracian possessions and sold his prisoners for slaves. Philip demanded as satisfaction from Athens the recall of Diopithes. But this was not done on the contrary he was supported by fresh funds and munitions of war. This was tantamount to a declaration of war; yet the outbreak of the war did not take place for a considerable time. Philip was busy in Thrace, whither he had marched with a strong army in 342 B.C. His object this time was to check the activity of the warlike chief, Cersebleptes, from whom he had already captured fortresses, some quite lately, as Doriscus, Serrhian and others in 345 B.C. The Thracian chief, notwithstanding his unfortunate experiences, continued to devastate the territory of the Greek towns adjoining Thrace. Philip came forward now as the protector and patron of the Greek towns, of which indeed Cardia, Byzantium and Perinthus were allied with him. And since Cersebleptes was allied with Athens, which came now more and more under the influence of the war-party and seemed disposed to commence hostilities against the king, it may have been satisfactory to Philip to have a good reason for taking decisive measures against Thrace. Cersebleptes, beaten in several battles was deposed, and his territory made into a tributary province of Macedonia. It was on this occasion that Teres also, the son of the Thracian prince Amadocus mentioned above, was deprived of his dominions. The founding of towns, among them Philippopolis, which has preserved the name of its founder to the present day, proves that Philip wished to extend civilisation into the most distant parts of Thrace, and to make the fruitful valley of the Hebrus a permanent possession of Macedonia. By this war Philip became involved in hostilities with Byzantium and Perinthus, which, up till now allied with him, had refused to render aid to

him in the Thracian war. Both towns were besieged; they both, however, held out, being situated on the sea, by which they could get supplies, and being in addition supported by allies, Perinthus by the Persian satrap of the opposite coast, and Byzantium by Athens and other Greek maritime states. The Macedonian fleet could not enforce a blockade in the face of the superior power of the enemy on the sea.

Philip next undertook an expedition northward, in order to attack the Scythians. Though he obviously could have had little hope of their complete subjection and of a conquest of their territory, it seemed advisable to him to show his power, in order to deter them from their repeated raids. The Scythian king Ateas was defeated; unfortunately the immense booty taken was mostly lost on the way back, where the Macedonians had to defend themselves against the attacks of the Triballi. In 339 after an absence of three years Philip returned to Macedonia.

The refusal of the Hellespontine sea-ports Byzantium and Perinthus to support their ally, Philip, and the war that had thus been caused had led in the meantime to a declaration of war by Athens against Macedonia. Since Philip required his fleet for the siege, and this might have been stopped on its passage through the Hellespont by the Athenian general Diopithes who was still present in the Chersonese, he advanced into the Chersonese in order to accompany his ships, doing no more than what Diopithes had previously done. This gave the Athenians the pretext to declare war on Philip (340). By means of appropriate financial measures, on which Demosthenes had so long insisted, they raised the necessary money, prosecuted vigorously the fitting out of the fleet, and sent help to beleaguered Byzantium. If the king nevertheless undertook the campaign against the Scythians first, it was clearly because he was momentarily more concerned with the security of Thrace which he had conquered than with a struggle against Athens.

When Philip therefore, returned to Macedonia he was summoned to Hellas. The accusation of gross sacrilege had been brought at the Amphictyonic assembly against the Locrian town of Amphissa. The levy of the Amphictyons had, however, been able to effect nothing against the town, since the Thebans and Athenians would not permit their detachments to advance; and the Amphictyons therefore resolved to entrust the conduct of the war to Philip. He immediately advanced into Phocis through Thermopylae, which he had permanently occupied, and took Elatea (autumn of 339). The Thebans and Athenians had long been at enmity. But men like Demosthenes who wished to range against Philip the warlike inhabitants of Boeotia, after long endeavours to reconcile the two cities, succeeded. By this the power of Athens was considerably strengthened. Of her other allies the Euboeans, Megarians, Corinthians and Achaeans took the field, while Elis, Megalopolis and Messene had no part in the war. Once more Philip made offers of peace. Unfortunately we do not know what conditions he laid down. But it was of no avail; the war party held the upper hand, and hostilities broke out. The army put into the field by the allies for the protection of Amphissa was completely defeated and the town captured: and their main army, which was in position near Charonea, at the entrance to Boeotia, yielded to the veteran Macedonians and their skilful leaders after a brave resistance. The losses on both sides were great; the Athenians lost 1000 men, and 2000 were

made prisoners (August, 338 B.C.). This battle decided the war. Thebes surrendered and had to receive a Macedonian garrison into its citadel, the Cadmea; the Union of Bœotia under the headship of Thebes, which had been established by Epaminondas, was destroyed, and the independence of the country towns of Bœotia was recognised. Corinth also received a Macedonian garrison and probably also Chalcis in Eubœa. It is obvious that here as in other towns the leaders of the anti-Macedonian party were banished and Philip's adherents came to the helm for it was an old established custom that the victors should banish the vanquished. Philip showed himself a well-wisher of Athens. She retained her territory and her independence, actually received Oropus back from the Thebans, and had no garrison imposed on her, but in addition to the possessions on the Thracian and Chalcidian coast which were already lost she had now at the conclusion of peace to give up the Thracian Chersonese as well, of her possessions there only remained Imbros, Lemnos, Scyros, Samos, Salamis and Lesbos. After an expedition into the Peloponnese, in which he invaded Laconia but did not take the strongly defended town of Sparta, Philip went to Corinth, where envoys of all the Greek communities were assembled. The disputes of the Spartans with their neighbours were settled in such a way that Sparta was compelled to concede territory to the Argives, Megapolitans, Tegeans and Messenians. What follows is more important. A league was formed between the Hellenes and Philip, which from the usual place of meeting for the members of it, has been known since as the Corinthian League. The Greek states south of Thermopylæ with the exception of Sparta, which made no peace with Philip, sent their representatives regularly to Corinth, these composed the governing body of the league which had to settle all disputes and to superintend the faithful execution of the terms of the peace. For universal peace was now to prevail in the country and the everlasting feuds were to cease. The states were guaranteed their independence and their constitutions as well as the possessions which they had at the moment when peace was concluded. There was also an important decree passed that no state should aid with money or arms any attempt made by exiles against their own city. The king of Macedonia was the general of the league; the Hellenic states, since they were autonomous, had not to pay any tribute to him but had to furnish troops in case of war. Philip, adroitly seizing on a sentiment that had already been expressed by many learned men and had become popular in Greece, touched upon a common war of all Hellenes against their hereditary enemy, the Persians, and all the members agreed with him. This common war he thought would bring the Greeks closer together, make them forget their hatred and dissensions, show them once more a goal, towards which they might struggle with combined resources, and last though not least, would reconcile them to the leadership of Philip and accustom them to the Macedonian Hegemony. There were undoubtedly germs in this league that promised good fruit. As soon as Philip returned to Macedonia, he made preparations for the war against Persia. An army under Parmenion was to invade Asia in the spring of 336 as an advance guard, while the king in person would follow soon. But before this plan was carried out Philip was slain by the dagger of Pausanias, one of his body-guard, at a festival in honour of the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra with Alexander, King of the Molossians (summer 336 B.C.).

Philip had accomplished a stupendous task. How different was the position

of Macedonia at his death from what it was at his accession! Its coasts were now open, and no obstacles hindered the export of its productions; and naturally the *Hinterland* also was opened up and made important. Material prosperity and culture were everywhere promoted. Philip had founded many new towns and had planted colonies near Mount Pangæus (Philippi) and in Thrace. Even in Macedonia itself Greeks had been allowed to settle, while the territory of Chalcidice which he conquered had been divided among Macedonians. We are everywhere met by his unwearying efforts to advance the growth of his country and to blend its inhabitants together. The country owed its fleet to him. But before everything else Macedonia owed to King Philip the army which had achieved such astonishing results. Archelaus, it is true, had taken the first steps to produce, in addition to the cavalry, a better-trained infantry, but the period which followed his reign had not been favourable to the carrying out of his ideas. Philip first created an infantry, which was equal in effectiveness to the cavalry. His work consisted in raising levies regularly (liability to service had long been universal in Macedonia), and not merely in case of necessity. His work was to drill the levies thoroughly, to arm them well, and to attach them, according to their respective efficiency, to definite regiments, of which there were six of heavy, and an indefinite number of light infantry under his command. He thus succeeded, by indefatigable training, and in part, too, by his many wars, in creating an army which had not its equal in the world. The Macedonian phalanx, with its long spears, formidable in its attack, invincible and impenetrable when attacked, roused the admiration of all antiquity. Notwithstanding its weight and size, it manœuvred easily and correctly, quickly changed its position, and rapidly reformed. Besides this phalanx, the army of Philip, except for a light infantry regiment, which dispensed with the armour and the long spear of the Phalanxite and was equipped with helmet, sword, and small shield, consisted mainly of the cavalry, which was recruited among the Macedonian nobility, and of the artillery, as we should term them to-day, with their catapults, battering-rams, and the necessary staff. Thus the nobility composed the cavalry, the peasants and citizens the infantry: both united formed the military assembly, which had the right to judge in penal cases.

One more great service rendered by the king to his country must be mentioned. To him Macedonia owed its political unity. Before his time there were the local principalities of Lyncestis, Elimiotis, and Orestis, which recognised, it is true, the royal house of the Argeadae as overlord, but frequently waged war with it. Philip deprived these princely houses of their thrones, and their members thenceforth composed the high Macedonian nobility. Men like Perdiccas, Leon-natus, and Antigonus sprang from these once powerful and almost independent families.

(c) *Alexander the Great*.—Philip's son and successor was Alexander (see plate facing p. 134, Fig. 1), who in 336 was a man of twenty. Brought up and educated by Aristotle, the greatest philosopher of antiquity, he was familiar with the literature and philosophy of Greece and full of enthusiasm for Homer and his heroes, of whom Achilles was his favourite. The young prince was also trained in all bodily exercises and familiar with the art of war and the whole military system, as indeed was to be expected in a country like Macedonia, where every man was

liable to military service, and the officers and the body-guard of the king were taken from the nobility. Alexander could not have been unmoved by the influence which mighty and glorious deeds exercised on every man of that time. In fact, we hear that at the age of sixteen the crown prince had held the regency, while Philip was occupied with the war in Byzantium and Perinthus, and had during that time fought successfully the neighbouring Thracian tribe of the Mædi. At the age of eighteen he commanded the Macedonian cavalry on the left wing at the battle of Chæronea. Thus trained and familiar from boyhood with the demands of his future position, he entered on his heritage. What he had previously accomplished was naturally eclipsed by the dazzling brilliancy of Philip's exploits, and what chiefly struck every one was his extreme youth. But though every one, especially the Greeks, reckoned on this, Alexander showed himself a man, bold in decision, swift in action. In Macedonia itself, where disputes as to the succession and wars were the usual accompaniments of the death of a ruler, Alexander immediately took vigorous measures and crushed all such attempts in the bud. His cousin Amyntas, whose kingdom Philip had once governed as guardian, and who had gradually sunk into the background, was put to death, since many held him to be the lawful successor: this step was certainly necessary for the tranquillity of the country, though it may seem cruel, since there is no account of any rising led by Amyntas. But on another side preparations for an insurrection had actually been made. In 337 B.C. Philip had married Cleopatra, niece of Attalus of Macedonia, and by this step had caused his former wife, Olympias, and her son, Alexander, to leave the country, the latter returning to Pella shortly before his father's murder. Ever since the marriage feast, when Alexander had chastised Attalus for his wish that Cleopatra might bear a legitimate heir, hatred and hostility existed between them. Now, after Philip's death, Attalus, who meantime had taken over a command in the Macedonian advance guard in Asia Minor, immediately allied himself with the anti-Macedonian party in Athens; but before he had completed his proposed preparations against the young king he was murdered by Alexander's orders. His niece, Cleopatra, shared the same fate. In Macedonia itself, therefore, owing to Alexander's vigorous initiative, no disturbances of any sort resulted.

In Greece, where the unexpected death of Philip and the youth of Alexander had inspired all the enemies of Macedonia with renewed courage and made them think of a restoration of their former uncertain, but still independent, state, it seemed as if a determined rising would follow: at any rate, there was an intense wish to be freed from the hegemony of Macedonia. The town of Ambracia in Epirus drove out the Macedonian garrison; the Thebans made preparations to do the same; in Athens and other parts disturbances broke out. Here also Alexander crushed all attempts by his sudden appearance at the head of a large army, and the Greeks submitted. As he had been received into the Amphictyonic league, the states which took part in the Corinthian league renewed the conventions drawn up by Philip, and nominated Alexander protector and commander-in-chief of the Hellenes in the war against the Persians, the object of which was declared by the congress to be vengeance for the outrages once committed by the Persians in Greece.

In the winter of 336-335 Alexander returned to Macedonia, in order to make final preparations for the expedition into Asia, which his father had already

planned. But before this it was again necessary to make a demonstration in force in the Balkan peninsula and to subdue permanently the independent and irreconcilable tribes of Thrace and Illyria, who, bent on robbery and plunder, were apparently planning fresh inroads. Alexander started in the spring of 335, marched by the high road to Thrace, through Amphipolis as far as the river Nestus (Kara Su), and up the valley of it until in ten days he reached Mount Hæmus (Balkans) through the pass of the Rhodope Mountains. Here he first met with resistance. The pass, which led over the mountains, was occupied by armed men and blocked by a barricade of wagons. But the Macedonians, led by the king in person, pressed on courageously. Even the wagons, which were hurled down the mountain, did not cause the loss that was expected, since Alexander had divined this intention of the barbarians and had given his soldiers timely orders to step out of their way where the road was broad enough, or where that was not feasible to throw themselves on the ground and to make a roof with their shields, held up high and closely locked together. In short, Alexander routed the Thracians and made himself master of the pass over the Balkans. On the other side dwelt the Triballi. They had placed their women, children, and movable property for safety on an island in the Danube, whither their king, Syrmus, had also retired. The warriors allowed Alexander to advance without hindrance as far as the Danube, in order then suddenly to appear in his rear and attack him. But their plan miscarried: the Macedonians cut to pieces all who did not save themselves by flight. On the other hand, Alexander could not carry out his intention of occupying the island in the Danube. Instead of this he carried across the Danube during the night four thousand foot-soldiers and fifteen hundred cavalry on native boats, hollowed out of single tree trunks, and on the tent-skins of the soldiers, sewn together and stuffed with hay. On the opposite bank the Getæ dwelt, they, indeed, were in a position with fourteen thousand men to resist the expected invasion of their country, but were so taken by surprise that they fled into their nearest town, and when Alexander approached they abandoned this also, and fled precipitately with their women and children. The town of the Getæ was destroyed, and on the same day Alexander, richly laden with booty, recrossed the Danube. In consequence, other neighbouring tribes, who had until now been independent, and Syrmus, the prince of the Triballi, sent envoys to Alexander and submitted to him. Even the Celts, who dwelt on the Adriatic (this is the first time we hear of them in these regions, on which they were destined later to play such a part), sent envoys to make assurances of their friendship to the young king.

From the Danube, Alexander marched through the territory of the Agrianes, whose prince, Langarus, had formed a friendship with him and remained loyal to him, and of the Pæonians, and then along the valley of the Erigon up to Pelion, which was held by Clitus, King of the Illyrians. Glaucias, prince of the Taulantii in the *Hinterland* of Epidamnus and Apollonia, had promised him assistance. Since Clitus declined a battle, the siege of the town was determined on by the Macedonians; and when, on the next day, Glaucias appeared with large masses of armed men, Alexander withdrew. The Illyrians, who attacked him in a narrow road when crossing over the Devol (a river in Albania), were repulsed with loss, but his retreat was continued. Rendered confident by this, the Illyrians neglected all measures of precaution, whereupon the king surprised

them on the third night and completely routed them. Pelion was evacuated by Clitus after he had set fire to it. Thus security on this frontier was ensured by Alexander. He was not able to follow up his victory and in his turn to invade Illyria, in order completely to subdue the country, for his presence in Greece had meantime become urgently necessary.

We have seen above (pp. 103 and 108) how unwillingly the Greeks tolerated the headship of Macedonia and how easily they allowed themselves to be driven to premature risings. In the autumn of 336 Alexander had crushed the movement in the bud by his rapid advance: now that he had been for months far away from his kingdom, all sorts of rumours were rife of the evil plight of the Macedonian army, and even of the death of the king. Theban fugitives, of whom there were many, secretly returned to their native town, induced their fellow-citizens to revolt from Macedonia, murdered the commanders of the Macedonian troops on the Cadmeia, and blockaded the garrison itself in the citadel by a double line of circumvallation. In other Greek states also the party hostile to Macedonia held the upper hand, and from all sides the Thebans had good prospects of aid. As soon as Alexander learnt of these occurrences in Greece he advanced by forced marches from Illyria along the eastern slopes of Pindus, through Thessaly to Boeotia, attached to himself on the way the contingents of the Greek states which had remained loyal to him (Phocians and other Boeotians), and appeared before Thebes, where the approach of the hostile army had not been reported until it had already passed Thermopylae. Alexander delayed to attack the city in the belief that it would send envoys and ask pardon for what had occurred. But the same persons who had urged on the revolt, now in popular meetings counselled the most desperate resistance, while others spoke in favour of a reconciliation with Alexander, but could not carry their point. An attack, therefore, was made; after a bitter struggle the Macedonians forced the gates and joined the garrison of the citadel, and now a terrible slaughter began, in which the Phocians and the other Greeks of Alexander are said to have been conspicuous. By the decision of his allies, to whom Alexander entrusted the settlement of Theban affairs, Thebes was destroyed, its territory divided among its neighbours, and those of the citizens that escaped the massacre were sold into slavery, with the exception of priests and priestesses, guest friends of Philip and Alexander, and such as had been under the protection of Macedonia. In accordance with Alexander's own wish, the house was preserved in which once the poet Pindar dwelt, and his descendants were spared.

The fate of Thebes had a terrible effect on Greece, and clearly placed before the eyes of all the dangers to which they exposed themselves by rising against the Macedonian rule. As quickly as possible envoys were sent to Alexander by the states to testify their submission, and the supporters of Macedonia were recalled to the place from which they had been forced to flee. In other places those who seemed to be responsible for the revolt from Macedonia and for the making common cause with Thebes were put to death; in short, everywhere hasty measures were taken to undo what had been done. And Alexander was forgiving. From Athens, indeed, which had sent congratulations to him by ten envoys on his prosperous return from Thrace and Illyria and on the punishment of the Thebans for their "revolutionary spirit," he demanded at first the surrender of several supporters of the anti-Macedonian policy, such as Demosthenes, Lycur-

gus, and Charidemus; but, persuaded by a new embassy, he withdrew this demand and contented himself with the banishment of Charidemus. Thus peace with the Hellenes was restored, and the Corinthian league naturally was renewed in its earlier terms.

In the autumn Alexander returned to Macedonia and devoted the winter to the necessary preparations for the impending campaign in Asia. When we are told that while still a boy he astonished the Persian envoys at his father's court by his able and thoughtful questions about the state of affairs in the broad Persian realm and made them marvel at his intelligence, it may, indeed, be confidently assumed that his preparations for the campaign were not confined to the collection of auxiliaries from his allies and training them according to Macedonian discipline, or in enlisting mercenaries, or the arrangement of the necessary means for the transport and the feeding of the troops, or the assignment of commands or the like. It is far more likely that Alexander carefully studied the geographical, political, financial, and military conditions of the kingdom of Persia, which were partly already known and partly must have been investigated then as far as possible. In accordance with these results, the plan of campaign was drawn up. We have, unfortunately, no extant account of it. Did the king from the very beginning meditate the conquest of the entire Persian kingdom, or did he merely wish, as the programme drawn up at Corinth in the autumn of 336 ran, to take the field against the Persians on account of the outrages inflicted by them on the Hellenes? The plan of the war is to some extent adhered to throughout; the later events in Persepolis show Alexander considered it executed by the burning of the Persian royal citadel. And the succeeding events show clearly that he then, at least, aspired to the conquest of the whole Persian kingdom. Whether he had, as it almost would seem, formed this plan from the very beginning or only subsequently, his enterprise and bravery will always command our admiration and astonishment.

In Persia after the death of Artaxerxes Ochos (338 B.C.), and after an interregnum filled with bloodshed and atrocities, Darius III. had ascended the throne almost contemporaneously with Alexander (336). Although the authority of the sovereign in the kingdom of Persia had been weakened since the times of Darius Hysdaspes, and Xerxes, and the power of the satraps had become more independent, Darius was still lord of a realm which was thirty times as large as the territories whose resources were at Alexander's disposal. Stored in the royal towns of Susa, Ecbatana, and Persepolis lay at the disposal of the great king enormous treasures of gold and precious metals, and Persia could place in the field from her wide territories an army that outnumbered the Macedonian forces many times. In addition, there was a fleet of 400 warships, manned by Cyprians and Phœnicians, the best seamen of the ancient world.

Opposed to this, Alexander's resources seemed weak. He had to raise 800 talents for his preparations; and no more than 60 were left at his disposal when he commenced the campaign. His fleet comprised 160 warships; his army some 35,000 fighting men, of which 30,000 were infantry and 5000 cavalry. To this must be added the contingent, of unknown strength, already sent to Asia by Philip. In any case, the war against the Persians was not begun with more than 45,000 men. But this well-trained and well-armed force of veterans was precisely Alexander's strength, for the Persians could not oppose any such body to him.

However superior in numbers — in equipment, discipline, and experience of warfare they were far inferior. Might not Alexander also have counted on the support of the Greeks in Asia Minor, who since 378 B.C. were again Persian, but had in no way reconciled themselves to the Persian rule? In short, he must have seen, if he weighed the matter, that his enterprise was not hopeless. Results justified him.

The advance against Asia began in the spring of 334. Antipater remained behind in Europe as administrator of the kingdom with an army of twelve thousand foot-soldiers and fifteen hundred cavalry. Alexander himself marched along the Thracian coast to the Dardanelles, had his army carried over by the fleet, and united it with the troops already sent by Philip to Asia Minor, which, commanded by Calas since the death of Attalus, occupied the coast from Abydus to Rhœteum and covered the king's passage. Neither the Persian land force, which, under the command of the Greek, Memnon, who had enlisted Greek mercenaries for the great king, and of the satraps of Lydia and Hellespontine Phrygia, Spithridates and Arsites, was encamped at Zeleia, to the west of Cyzicus, nor the Persian fleet attempted to repel the invader at the very outset: the want of a united command was at once felt.

When Alexander had set foot in Asia Minor the most opposite plans were proposed in the council of war of the Persians. Memnon's advice was to avoid a battle, to retreat and lay waste the land, and gradually to entice Alexander and his army farther into the country; in the meantime, while the Macedonian king must necessarily be weakened by his march forward, the Persians would be able to strengthen themselves with new troops, until, protected by a strong line of defence, they could venture on a decisive battle with some prospect of success. The two satraps opposed him: they did not wish to give up their provinces to devastation and to retreat at the advice of a stranger in the face of an enemy by no means superior. Their views carried the day. Their army advanced westward to the Granicus and took up a favourable position on the steep right bank of this river: their cavalry, twenty thousand strong, were drawn up in a long line on the banks. Behind them was the infantry, equally numerous. It was here, then, that Alexander first met the Persians. On landing he had received news that the enemy was approaching from the East, and had marched along the coast against them. This first encounter at the Granicus showed at once the fiery daring of the young king and the ardor of his spirit, which swept on every one with it. The river was between the two armies. The Macedonian horsemen of the vanguard and a division of the phalanx received the order to cross it, and commenced the attack. But the king himself soon followed with his heavy cavalry. The Macedonians dashed into the river. The Persians rode to meet them. A hand-to-hand fight ensued, and Alexander himself was saved from deadly peril only by the interposition of Clitus. By great efforts the Macedonians gained ground, scaled the steep bank, broke through the enemy's lines, and routed the Persian cavalry. Afterwards their phalanx gradually advanced and deployed, and the Persian infantry was annihilated, with the exception of two thousand prisoners.

At a single stroke the enemy's army had been driven from the scene, and no one was left to resist the advance of the conqueror into the heart of the Persian kingdom. But Alexander secured a firm base for fresh operations before

he marched further East. Here, if anywhere, he showed his farsighted policy.

On the entire west coast of Asia Minor lay Greek towns, which had early attained wealth and prosperity, and were seats of great intellectual and material culture. These had once been independent republics, but since the peace of Antalcidas (378 B.C.) were subject to Persian domination. They paid taxes to Persia and furnished her with troops, were garrisoned partly by Persians and were governed by tyrants, who found their safest and best support in the great king, wherever an oligarchy had not been instituted with the assistance of the Persians in place of the former democracy (cf. above, p. 59). In all the cities there were parties which, hostile to the existing state of things, promised themselves fortune and wealth from a change. Alexander counted on these Greek towns for support. After the battle at the Granicus, the satrapy of Phrygia on the Hellespont had been taken, and Calas appointed its governor. After he had sent the captured Greek mercenaries, who had fought on the side of their hereditary foe against their countrymen, into Macedonia, condemned to hard labour, and had granted immunity from taxation to the families of the fallen Macedonians, and had dedicated three hundred suits of armour to the acropolis at Athens in his name and in the name of the allied Hellenes as trophies, he marched to Sardis, the ancient capital of the Lydian kings and the former capital of the satrapy of Lydia. The inhabitants came to meet him and surrendered their town. The citadel was likewise given up to him by the Persian commander, Mithrenes, and a Macedonian garrison introduced. Asander was nominated governor of Lydia.

From Sardis, Alexander turned towards the coast and marched without meeting any opposition into Ephesus; the Persian garrison had withdrawn on news of the battle of the Granicus. His generals occupied the towns of Magnesia and Tralles in the valley of Maeander and the Greek towns which lay northward of Ephesus. No opposition was met with. Only Miletus and subsequently Halicarnassus, both situated on the coast south of Ephesus, shut their gates before the approaching conqueror. Hegesistratus, indeed, the commander of Miletus, had already negotiated with Alexander about the surrender of the town, but the news of the approach of a strong Persian fleet of four hundred warships induced him to break off negotiations and to prepare to defend the town. But Alexander rapidly came up, occupied the suburbs, and began to assault the walls. The Macedonian fleet under Nicanor had outsailed the Persian fleet, and was anchored at Lade, an island in front of the harbour of Miletus: and co-operation between the defenders of Miletus and the Persian fleet was rendered impossible. When Alexander, therefore, proceeded to storm the town, and at the same moment Nicanor entered the harbour, the Persians turned to flight. Many were massacred by the Macedonians, who pressed into the city. Miletus experienced the clemency of the victor. It received pardon and its freedom. The king had rejected the proposal made by various persons to order his fleet, stationed at Lade, to sail out and attack the enemy's ships, which were anchored off the opposite peninsula of Mycale. He clearly saw that in numbers, as well as in seamanship, his fleet was far inferior to the enemy's. He now dispersed it, retaining only a small part. Its maintenance was expensive, and its utility appeared small, especially as Alexander was master of the coast, and the hostile fleet could do little

towards changing that state of things. We shall soon see that in the hand of an enterprising and far-seeing man this fleet could, nevertheless, threaten Alexander with serious danger.

The young king turned next towards Caria, which was under the satrap Orontobates. The Princess Ada of Alinda, who belonged to the Carian princely house (the most famous member was Maussolus), which had once ruled the whole country, but was now restricted to this one town and citadel, placed herself immediately under the protection of Alexander and adopted him as her son: she thus contributed much to the result that the Carian towns surrendered to him so soon as he approached. Halicarnassus alone offered resistance. This well-fortified town, guarded by two strong citadels, was defended by Memnon, who had thrown himself into the place after the battle on the Granicus, and by an adequate garrison, consisting mostly of mercenaries. The walls were high, and a broad and deep moat had been dug in front of them, which had to be filled up by the assailants before any effective assault of the town could be thought of. Notwithstanding a sortie of the enemy, Alexander succeeded in doing so. He now raised his siege-engines, though often hindered by attacks of the besieged. He at length succeeded in effecting a breach in the enemy's wall. But behind it rose a wall, running from the one tower to the other. Alexander wished to attack it, when Memnon made a final great sortie. Driven back after a fierce fight and with heavy losses, he determined to evacuate the city, and only the two strong castles remained occupied. Alexander destroyed the town, but was obliged on account of the fortresses to leave behind a division of three thousand mercenaries and two hundred cavalry under Ptolemy. Ada received the satrapy of Caria.

Winter was now approaching. Parmenion was sent to Sardis at the head of the contingents of the allies to winter in Lydia and in the next spring to join the king again in Greater Phrygia. All newly married Macedonians were sent home on furlough with orders to join the army in the coming spring and to bring with them the fresh levies: Alexander himself marched without meeting any opposition through Lycia and Pamphylia, where hardly any preparations for defence had been made by the Persians. He then went through Pisidia, where the wild population, which in their almost inaccessible mountains had never submitted to the Persians, created all sorts of difficulties for him on his passage. From Greater Phrygia, where he occupied Celænæ, the capital, with its strong castle, Alexander eventually reached Gordium in the centre of Asia Minor, and stayed a considerable time there.

In barely one year the greater part of Asia Minor had been conquered by Alexander. Hellespontine Phrygia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, and Greater Phrygia were administered by Macedonian governors. The taxes from these provinces flowed now into the Macedonian treasury, and important military points, such as the citadel of Sardis, held Macedonian garrisons. It may well be asserted that Alexander had from the very first contemplated the permanent retention of his conquests. Besides the appointment of Macedonian governors, the fact that, in addition to them, a special official was entrusted with the entire management of the taxation points to the same conclusion. Although this arrangement is mentioned as existing in the province of Lydia only, there is no reason to doubt that it had been introduced in a similar form into all the

satrapies. The only innovation made was that now two royal officials stood at the head of each province, otherwise the extent of their jurisdiction and the amount of taxation remained as they had been under the Persians. It may also be noticed as an improvement that now the royal administrators of the province ceased to be supported by the provinces themselves, and were paid by the king, thus all "tyranny" was obviated.

The Greek towns on the coast were treated differently from these countries. They were proclaimed free—that is, they were made autonomous in internal affairs, were not subjected to the royal governors, and paid no taxes. They also received no garrisons, and, what assuredly was very valuable in the eyes of the Greeks, they were permitted to restore their democratic constitutions, which had been everywhere abolished under pressure from the Persians. These Greeks thus recovered, through Alexander, that independence and freedom for which they had once fought so bravely. The Greek towns on the islands of Asia Minor, at any rate so far as they lay north of Samos and could be freed from the Persian fleet by the Macedonian, underwent the same treatment. We know that they entered the Corinthian league. On the other hand, it is not recorded whether the Greek towns on the mainland also were incorporated in this league or whether they were organised into a union of their own for the maintenance of the universal peace of the country. Undoubtedly, Alexander had created for himself in Asia Minor, as well as on the islands, supporters, who promised to render him profitable services on his march forward. The necessary funds for further operations were drawn from the taxes of the conquered satrapies.

An event occurred at this time which suddenly threatened to bring a disastrous end to the good fortune of the king. Memnon, who but recently had valiantly, though unsuccessfully, defended Halicarnassus against Alexander, had been appointed by the great king to be commander of the fleet, which till now had done nothing noteworthy, in spite of its strength. Memnon now embarked a large force of mercenaries, which he may in part have brought safely from Halicarnassus and in part newly enlisted, and put out to sea. What he planned was a landing in Greece, where, from the strength of the anti-Macedonian and revolutionary party, an insurrection could easily have been excited, and after that an attack on Macedonia carried out. This plan would, indubitably, have presented a most serious danger for Alexander, had it been executed. But first Memnon had to reconquer the islands lying off the coast of Asia Minor. Chios had already opened its gates to him through treachery, the Lesbian towns, with the exception of Mytilene, were once more brought under the Persian rule, and wherever he went tyrants who favoured Persia were installed in place of the democracies. But suddenly, while besieging by land and sea Mytilene, which had refused to surrender to him, Memnon died (333 B.C.).

With the death of this man, who with daring determination and keen foresight was bent on transferring the theatre of war to the enemy's own land, his plan also failed. Autophradates and Pharnabazus, his successors in the command of the fleet, took Mytilene, it is true, and subsequently won back Tenedos for the Persian crown, but they did not achieve any other considerable success. The expeditionary troops on the ships were recalled by Darius to join the main army. Alexander, through Hegelochus and Amphoterus, and Antipater, through

Proteas, collected ships from all the allied states on the Hellespont and in Greece and organised a fleet. Proteas with the ships collected from Eubœa and the Peloponnese succeeded in surprising Datames, who had been sent by the Persian admiral to Siphnus with ten ships, and in capturing eight of his vessels. This first success was followed by others. To anticipate events we may say that in the course of the next few years Hegelochus and Amphoterus freed the islands again from the supremacy of the Persians and the tyrants imposed by them, especially as the Persian fleet was dispersed after the battle at Issus.

In the spring of 333 B.C. Parmenion, with the troops which had been allowed to go home on winter furlough, and with some reinforcements, about three thousand strong, entered Gordium. Here, according to the story, in the temple of Zeus stood the royal chariot, the yoke of which was fastened to the pole by an ingenious knot. Whoever untied it (so the oracle ran) should hold the dominion over Asia; Alexander without much deliberation severed the knot with his sword. This was a good omen for Alexander in the eyes of the Asiatics as well as of many Greeks. Alexander spent a long time at Gordium, chiefly to watch the continuation of Memnon's undertakings, but, on the other hand, he knew that King Darius was collecting troops from his Eastern satrapies, in order to march with these to the West to recover what had been lost. He felt unable to leave Asia Minor without hazarding his conquests, for he did not wish to push on further East without urgent reasons, in order not to be too far removed from Greece, which was probably to be the new theatre of war. Memnon's death left the king to continue his march onward without anxiety.

From Gordium he marched past Ancyra (Angora), where the Paphlagonians, who were governed by their own dynasts, offered their submission, through envoys, to the Halys (Kisil Irmak), and then in a southerly direction to the Cilician gates, a pass over the Taurus Mountains, leading from Cappadocia to Cilicia. This line of march was marked out for the king as soon as he had learnt that Darius with his army, which comprised several hundred thousand native warriors and some thirty thousand Greek mercenaries, had started from Babylon for northern Syria. The Cilician gates, easy as they were to hold on account of their narrowness, were deserted at Alexander's approach by the few Persian troops who had been sent there; and, unhindered, the Macedonians crossed the mountains and descended into the plain. The occupation of Cilicia was accomplished without difficulty. The Persian garrison retired from Tarsus, the capital, and Alexander immediately after entered it. Here he was seized with a violent fever, and his life was in great danger, until the Greek physician, Philip, saved him by a drastic remedy. With this event is connected the frequently related story of the letter of Parmenion, in which he warned his king of Philip, alleged to be bribed by the Persians. Alexander, however, showed confidence in his physician, and drank the proffered medicine, while he gave Philip the letter to read. Restored to health, he subdued the remaining towns in the outlying region, and even undertook a short, but successful, campaign against the wild inhabitants of the mountains, who so often made inroads on the plain. Here he received the news of the fall of the fortress of Halicarnassus.

The Amanian Mountains divide Cilicia from Syria towards the East: two passes, the so-called Syrian gates in the South, the Amanian in the North, lead into Syria. Parmenion was sent in advance to occupy and guard the Syrian

THE BATTLE OF ALEXANDER

THIS, the largest mosaic which has been preserved for us from classical antiquity, formerly covered the floor of an exedra in the Casa del Fauno at Pompeii. It was discovered there on October 24, 1831, and brought to the National Museum at Naples. It is 6.3 metres long, 3.8 metres broad, and is said to have been composed of 1,500,000 marble cubes. A third of the picture has become obliterated, the portion preserved, 22 figures and 16 horses, represents the battle of Issus between Alexander the Great and Darius, at the moment when Darius turns to flight, while the youthful Alexander passes on at the head of his troops. The composition is said to have been based on a picture of Helena, a female Alexandrian artist, which the Emperor Vespasian brought to Rome.

(This reproduction, the most exact that exists, is made from a coloured copy which has been prepared by E. Sommer & Son, art publishers, of Naples.)

gates. As soon as the news came that Darius was on the other side of the Amanus at Sochi, Alexander started and marched through Issus close along the coast, through the Syrian gates, in order to turn Darius' flank. But, meantime, the great king had advanced through the Amanian gates, abandoning his position in the plain east of Amanus, which was far more favourable for deploying his masses, had occupied Issus, and was marching after Alexander. The latter was, therefore, compelled to march back.

The two armies met (autumn 333 B.C.) south of Issus on the river Pinarus, the Persians being interposed between the Macedonians and the sea, in a country as unfavourable for Darius as it could possibly be. Between the sea and the mountains, which lay somewhat back, stretched a plain, far too small to admit of the vast Persian masses being deployed. Alexander, as usual, commanded his right wing, Parmenion led the left, in the middle stood the phalanx. The king attacked first, broke through the enemy's line of battle and fell on the Persian centre, i.e. the Greek mercenaries, who were pressing hard his phalanx, which had fallen into some disorder in crossing the Pinarus, and forced them to give way. Darius, who was seated in his chariot in the middle of his battle array, turned to flee, and thus gave the signal for a universal flight. A vigorous representation of this event, dating from antiquity, is reproduced on the subjoined plate, "The Battle of Alexander." The Macedonians now began the pursuit, from which they did not return until nightfall. The loss on the side of the Persians was enormous. The entire camp fell into the hands of the victors. The mother and the wife of Darius were among the prisoners, but were well treated by Alexander in consideration of their rank and dignity.

Once again, and this time against a vastly superior force, the Macedonians had won a splendid victory in the open field. Once again the victor did not turn immediately to the East, but first made Syria and Phoenicia submit to him. This he accomplished without difficulty. the towns of Aradus, Byblus, and Sidon immediately went over to him. The kings, who from old times reigned in the towns there, had their power confirmed, and a Macedonian was placed over the land as governor. Thus Alexander again built himself a strong foundation for further enterprises. The ships of the Persian fleet had up till now been built in Phœnician yards and their crews recruited from the seafaring population. The conquest of this land and the submission of its towns and kings was bound to lead to the breaking up of the Persian fleet, which till now had ruled the sea. This was an invaluable gain for Alexander.

Tyre alone of the Phœnician towns opposed him. The more powerful and important this town was, the less could Alexander leave it unconquered. He therefore determined to besiege it. Tyre lay on an island at a short distance from the mainland, and was entirely surrounded by a high and strong wall. In order to approach it, Alexander had a mole thrown up, for which purpose there was an abundance of stones and wood in the vicinity. So long as the water near the coast was shallow the operations went on smoothly. But the further the Macedonians advanced and the deeper the sea became, the more frequent and serious became the attacks of the Tyrians, who could now bring up their warships and bombard with their heavy artillery the workers on the mole. Alexander ordered, indeed, two high portable towers to be erected for their protection on the extremity of the mole; but these were set on fire by a fire-ship,

which the besiegers skilfully succeeded in bringing up. At the same time the mole itself, together with the war machines, during the confusion caused from the fire, were destroyed by the Tyrians, who came from their warships in small boats.

This setback far from deterring Alexander, only taught him that without a fleet he could not subdue the strong island fortress. The Phoenician towns which had submitted to him placed their ships under the command of Alexander, who himself went to Sidon. The Cyprian kings also made their peace with him and sent their ships to him. With this fleet, consisting of some two hundred vessels of war, he turned once more against Tyre, where, meantime, the Macedonians had begun to throw up a new and broader mole. This time, under the protection of the fleet, which blocked the two harbours of Tyre, they succeeded in bringing the mole right up to the enemy's walls. But the wall still offered a long resistance to the siege machines, which were brought close by means of the mole and also of ships chained together, until at length, by the combined efforts of the fleet and of the artillery, the Macedonians succeeded in penetrating into one of the Tyrian harbours, effecting a breach in the wall and entering the city. This decided the fate of Tyre (July, 332 B.C.). In the fighting in the city some eight thousand men fell. Thirty thousand prisoners were taken and, as usual, sold into slavery.

Alexander started from Tyre in order to reach Egypt through Gaza — which he only captured after a two-months' siege — and Pelusium. This land bore the Persian yoke unwillingly, and had often risen against it. Alexander was here hailed as a liberator, and met with submission everywhere. At Memphis, the capital, the king sacrificed to Apis, and in this way, as in general by his consideration for their religious manners and customs, won the hearts of his new subjects, while the Persian kings, precisely by their contempt for the Egyptian religion and the insults they heaped on Apis, had filled the inhabitants with hatred and resentment.

From Memphis Alexander proceeded downstream on the west arm of the Nile to Canopus and founded a new town at a short distance from this old harbour, which, called Alexandria after him, was soon to attain great prosperity, and is still flourishing. This was the first town which he founded. It was intended to be a centre and a protection for the numerous Hellenes already residing in Egypt and a point of attraction to the newly arrived settlers from Hellas and Macedonia. Difficult to be approached by land, easily defensible, and provided with excellent harbours, Alexandria was fitted for a centre of intercourse and communications between the mother-country and the newly subdued territory, and helped to establish the new supremacy firmly in the land of ancient civilisation. From Alexandria the king proceeded to the far-famed shrine of Ammon in the Oasis of Siwah. He was led to do this chiefly by political reasons. He wished to sacrifice to the god of the country, as at Memphis, and by this diplomatic homage to bind more closely to himself the whole land, on the possession of which much depended. The priests of Ammon welcomed him and addressed him as son of their god, whom the Greeks had long identified with their highest deity, Zeus: an honour for the young monarch, which had nothing unusual in it for the Egyptians, who were accustomed from antiquity to regard their kings as gods. From the oracle of Ammon, Alexander marched

back across the desert to Memphis, twelve days' march distant, and there re-organised the government. He divided the whole of Egypt at first into four districts, but afterwards into three, since one of the Egyptians intended by him as governor declined the post. These divisions were Arabia, Libya (the countries east and west of the Delta, at the head of which Greeks were placed), and Egypt (that is, the Delta and the rest of the land), the administration of which was entrusted to an Egyptian. The command over the fleet of thirty triremes stationed there was given to Polemon, that over the troops left there to Peucestas and Balacrus, one of them commanding the infantry, the other the cavalry. The religion of the Egyptians was left unaltered, as well as their national institutions, such as the division of the land into provinces, which were at the same time districts for purposes of taxation. The appointment of the Egyptian, Doloaspis, as governor over the Delta and Upper Egypt showed clearly enough that Alexander was not bent on the subjugation, but on the peaceful development of the land, and thought to accustom the inhabitants to the new order of things.

What, in the meantime, had happened to Dariüs? The great king had fled in the night, after the battle of Issus, with some few followers, had on the next day collected round him scattered divisions of his army, and with them, which finally numbered some four thousand men, had continued his flight until he reached the Euphrates at Thapsacus. Not until the broad river separated him from his conqueror did he check his speed. In what a different condition did he come back to Babylon, which a few months before he had left at the head of a mighty army, full of confidence and hope of victory over the far smaller forces of Alexander! Not merely was his army beaten and broken; his mother and wife and children were in the power of the victor; his baggage, which he had sent to Damascus before the battle under the orders of Cophes, had been captured by Parmenion, and at the same time the war-chest and treasures of all sorts were taken, and the families of many noble Persians made prisoners. But the treasures of Susa, Persepolis, and Ecbatana still held large quantities of gold and silver, and a fresh army could be recruited from the provinces which would far outnumber the Macedonian forces — in short, with some energy and circumspection, resistance could still be offered to the enemy and an attack on the heart of the kingdom repelled. Ample means for the purpose stood at the disposal of Darius, yet the blow at Issus had been so stunning that he at first thought of coming to a friendly understanding with Alexander. While the latter was still waiting at Marathus a Persian embassy had petitioned for the release of the prisoners and proposed a treaty to the king. In his answer Alexander demanded complete submission and the recognition of his supremacy, on which conditions Darius might obtain what he wished. During the siege of Tyre an embassy came for the second time, this time with definite offers of peace, 10,000 talents were to be paid as ransom for the captured women, all the land between the Euphrates and the Ægean Sea was to be ceded, friendship and alliance were to be concluded between the two rival monarchs, and to be sealed by the marriage of Alexander to a daughter of Darius. These terms also were rejected: once more the absolute submission of the great king was demanded.

Then Persia broke off negotiations. Darius assembled an army afresh, in order to repel the attack of the Macedonians on the very centre of the empire.

In the course of the years 332 and 331 B.C. troops from Persia and Media, from Cappadocia and Bactria — in short, from all the satrapies which were still left to Persia — flocked into Babylon, were assiduously drilled there and prepared for the campaign. The cavalry was more elaborately armed, being provided with shields and longer lances, two hundred scythe-bearing chariots were introduced, and even elephants equipped. In the summer of 331 Darius was able to leave Babylon and take the field with an army, the strength of which is estimated at a million effective men.

In the spring of the same year (331) Alexander had started from Memphis. He halted at Tyre, where his fleet was waiting for him. Here a festival was celebrated in honour of Hercules with contests in music and gymnastics, to which Greek artists in large numbers were attracted. From here Amphotenus, the admiral, was sent with his fleet, which the Phoenicians and Cyprians were to strengthen by one hundred ships, to the Peloponnese to co-operate with the regent, Antipater, in crushing the Spartans, who, aided by money from Persia, under their king, Agis, declared war against Macedonia, and to support the Peloponnesians who had remained loyal against the intrigues of Sparta. The Macedonian army then started eastward, avoided the Syrian desert by a wide detour, and reached the Euphrates at Thapsaeus. The advance guard had already begun the construction of two bridges, but had been prevented by the enemy's cavalry from carrying them across to the left bank. When Alexander himself appeared the cavalry withdrew; the bridges were, therefore, completed, and the Euphrates was crossed without hindrance. From Thapsaeus he first marched upstream in a northerly direction, then eastward past Nisibis on the southern slopes of the Armenian Mountains, through districts which furnished ample food to the army and sufficient fodder for the horses, and exposed the troops less to the heat than if they had marched from Thapsaeus directly eastward through the plains of Mesopotamia. The enemy, it was reported, was awaiting him on the Tigris.

On the news of the advance of Alexander, Darius had started from Babylon, crossed the Tigris, and occupied a position on its left bank on the far side of the Lycus (the present Great Zab), near Gaugamela, choosing advisedly a wide, level country, which allowed scope for the operations of the great masses of his army. But Alexander met with no opposition on crossing the Tigris. After a rest on the other bank he proceeded downstream, and after four days' march came on the enemy's cavalry sent out to reconnoitre. He learnt at the same time that Darius was not far from there, at Gaugamela. On October 1, 331, a battle was fought there, which, in spite of the numerical superiority of the Persians and their more favourable ground, ended in their complete overthrow. Darius fled with his body-guard and some cavalry from Arbela (now Erbil) over the mountains to Ecbatana, and left to the conqueror the lower half of his kingdom.

Soon after the battle Alexander entered Babylon without encountering any resistance. Here also, as in Egypt, he understood how to win the good will of the population. He sacrificed according to the injunctions of the Chaldaeans, and directed that the temple of Belus, which is said to have been destroyed by Xerxes, should be rebuilt. In the organisation of the satrapy we see the same principles followed as in Egypt: here again a native, named Mazaeus, was

chosen governor, but along with him were Apollodorus of Amphipolis as military governor and also a Greek, named Asclepiodorus, as chief collector of the revenue. Armenia also received a noble Persian as satrap in the person of Mithrenes, the former commander of the citadel of Sardis. He organised the satrapy of Susa with its capital of the same name, whither he had gone from Babylon about the end of November, 331, in the same way as Babylon. A noble Persian, by name Abulites, became governor, while the command over the troops of the garrison was entrusted to Macedonians. Susa, where town and castle immediately surrendered to the victor, was during winter and spring the residence of the Persian kings. Here the treasure of 50,000 talents of silver (£12,000,000) fell into the hands of Alexander. Spoils from the Greek wars of Xerxes were found there. The king gave the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton back to the Athenians. Reinforcements from home arrived here, in all some eight thousand men, and were enrolled in the army, filling up the gaps that had been made. The real capital, with the sepulchres of the kings and their residence on especially solemn occasions (coronations and the feast of Norus), was Persepolis, southeast of Susa and separated from it by lofty and impassable mountains. This mountain district was inhabited by the Uxii, who had preserved their independence of Persia, and were accustomed to receive a present of money, even from the great king, when, marching through their land, he crossed the pass that lay in their possession, practically, then, they exacted tribute. They demanded this tribute from Alexander also as he approached their pass; but the king with picked troops, led by guides from Susa, avoided the pass by taking difficult paths, attacked the mountain settlements of the Uxii, amassed rich booty, returned by forced marches, and now attacked them assembled on the pass. The Uxii had to surrender and to furnish immediately as tribute a definite number of cattle, horses, and sheep. The Macedonian army now divided. Parmenion with the heavy infantry marched further on the great road which leads past the western slopes of the mountains: Alexander himself marched through the mountains. The second pass, the so-called Persian gates, which must be crossed on the route from Susa to Persepolis, if a march is made through the mountains, was occupied by the satrap Ariobarzanes, who had walled across the narrow road and with his forty thousand men repulsed Alexander's attack. Here also the king, who had left his general, Craterus, in front of the pass, succeeded with a light detachment in turning the flank of Ariobarzanes, who, attacked in front and in the rear, was forced to give way and leave open to the conqueror the passage through the Persian gates and the road to Persepolis. This town now fell into Alexander's hands without offering further resistance; the treasure that was taken as booty, far exceeding that in Susa, is said to have amounted to 120,000 talents, or £25,000,000. At Alexander's orders the royal castle with its large and splendid palaces was set on fire — a satisfaction exacted for the outrages which the Persians had once committed in Greece by the destruction of towns and shrines. Thus the programme laid down in the meeting of the league at Corinth in the autumn of 330 was carried out. The importance attached to the burning of the royal palace in Persepolis is borne out by the fact that Alexander soon afterwards at Ecbatana (to mention it at once in this connection) dismissed the contingents of the Thessalians and Greeks belonging to the league to their homes, continuing their

was discovered, and its members were immediately arrested. Philotas also was seized, and brought by the king before the assembled army, which had to judge in such cases. Whether Philotas had himself taken any share in this conspiracy or not is undetermined; but this much is certain, he knew of a plot against the king's life and gave no information of it, although he daily went in and out of Alexander's presence. The assembled army condemned him and the men accused with him, and immediately put them to death. His old father, Parmenion, was involved in his fate. Alexander sent a message to Ecbatana with orders to kill the old general, either because he saw in him an accomplice to the conspiracy or considered him, on account of his great influence, to be dangerous after the death of Philotas. However little Alexander may be excused for such high-handed justice, yet it is apparent that a certain degree of justification existed for his acts. Later we will make these still clearer.

On a subsequent occasion Alexander was holding a banquet in honour of the Dioscuri, in which Clitus, who stood in peculiarly intimate relations with the king, also took part. When the wine had heated the feasters' heads, and flatterers struck up songs, which with scoff and scorn disparaged the old Macedonian kings and extolled Alexander to the skies, Clitus rose up, lauded Philip and the other kings, and told Alexander many unpleasant things, which deeply wounded him. An altercation ensued. Alexander sprang up suddenly and snatched the spear from one of the body-guard standing near. The guests threw aside their beakers and leapt up in terror, but Ptolemy had sufficient presence of mind to push Clitus out of the door. He came back, however, by another door, and once more insulted his master. The latter, losing all self-control, struck him down with his spear. Immediately after this wicked deed remorse and grief seized on the king. He was carried to his chamber, where he lay, waiting and lamenting until the exhortation of his friends and the impulse of his nature brought him back to consciousness. The act had been done in anger and passion, and his remorse certainly proves most clearly how far removed Alexander was from the bloodthirsty and revengeful nature of an Oriental despot.

In the spring of 327 a new conspiracy against Alexander's life was discovered at Bactria. A page, by name Hermolaus, had been punished for misconduct by his master, had vowed revenge, and with other pages determined the murder of Alexander on a certain night. The king by chance did not come home, and the plan of the conspirators miscarried. One of them then revealed the plot, and the others were arrested and executed. It is certain that purely personal, and not political, motives lay at the bottom of this conspiracy; but it was not devoid of high political importance.

Callisthenes of Olynthus, a nephew of Aristotle, accompanied Alexander on the campaign as one of the philosophers and men of letters, of whom there were several in the royal camp. He wrote a history of the war; and several fragments of it, which are preserved for us, show that he had attained a marvellous facility in the use of flowery language. But his attitude towards the king had gradually changed. He now played the part of a lover of freedom, a hater of tyranny, and railed at the flattery which his rival, Anaxarchus of Abdera, only too lavishly bestowed on the king. According to the story, he is said to have denounced especially the *proskunesis*, or act of prostration, before the king, which had been

introduced into the court ceremonial; to have consortied much with the young men, and not to have shown the necessary caution in his language before them. When Hermolaus and his companions were arrested, Callisthenes was charged with having prompted them to their crime. Alexander ordered him to be arrested and crucified: according to another account, he died in prison soon after his arrest.

It thus became clearly evident that between Alexander and a part of his followers a misunderstanding prevailed, which the altered position of the king had produced. As lord of the Persian realm he had to appear to his new subjects in the full splendour and majesty of an Oriental monarch, to assume actual Oriental attire and to employ the Oriental ceremonial on festive occasions and state levees. Among the Macedonians secret dissatisfaction existed in many forms and only required an opportunity to burst out into a raging conflagration. The opposition subsequently died out.

In the summer of 327 B.C. Alexander departed with his army from Bactria, where he left behind a strong division, crossed the Hindu-Kusch, strengthened and enlarged the town of Alexandria, which he had founded there (cf. above, p. 123), and then began the conquest of the country of the Indus. He had raised thirty thousand Bactrians and Sogdians, armed and drilled in Macedonian fashion, and these were now to fight under his standard, side by side with the Macedonians. But Alexander did not undertake this Indian campaign, as has been supposed, chiefly for the purpose of attaching to his person the conquered peoples and blending the old and new elements in his army by new victories. There were other reasons which certainly determined him to do so. Above all, the former kings of Persia, a Darius Hysdaspes and a Xerxes, had already ruled over the Indus territory, and Alexander wished to rule over an empire of the same extent as it had been under those monarchs (cf. above what has been said about the Jaxartes). The Indus territory, the eastern Punjab, as well as the mountainous parts in the west (now Afghanistan and Cashmir), was divided into many separate principalities, and had not yet been formed into a political unity. The different princes were at war with each other, and some formed friendly relations with Alexander and had invited his help. Little as was then known of India, and little though it had been explored, its profusion of valuable products of all kinds was known. Long before Alexander, Indian wares had been brought over the pass of the Hindu-Kusch to Bactria and thence to the Black Sea into the Greek colonies and the rest of Europe. A motive that certainly helped to decide the king on his Indian campaign was his wish to open up these rich territories more effectually to trade, to make them more accessible to his newly conquered lands, as well as to his own country, and thus to make new paths for traffic and commerce. The way from the southern slopes of the Hindu-Kusch to the Indus leads through the valley of the Cophen (now Cabul) and through the Khyber pass, which has once more become famous in English colonial warfare. Perdiccas and Hephaestion advanced on this road with a part of the army with orders to throw a bridge across the Indus as soon as they reached it. Alexander himself marched through the mountainous region watered by the northern tributaries of the Cophen, the present Kafiristan and Chitral. The warlike tribes of the country, the Aspasii, Guræi, and Assaceni, offered a vigorous opposition and could only be subdued after many battles. Alexander

nominated Nicanor governor, ordered many of the existing towns to be fortified, and rebuilt others, which the inhabitants had burnt on his arrival, placing garrisons in them. He thus regarded the complete subjugation of the land as necessary for the lasting peace and prosperous development of his territories lying to the south and north of the Hindu-Kusch. Since, as there is no room to doubt, he wished to retain the Indus territory, its permanent and secure union with the more distant districts of his monarchy was indispensable.

Not until the spring of 326 B.C. was Alexander able to effect a junction with Perdiccas and Hephaestion and to cross the Indus on the bridge which they had erected. The prince of this district, Taxiles, who had already come to Alexander at Sogdiana and had asked him for help in the war with his neighbours, offered his submission and was confirmed in his possessions, which were soon largely increased. Other Indian princes likewise submitted; but Porus, who ruled on the other side of the Hydaspes, sent no envoys to Alexander, and awaited him on the river, which bounded his kingdom, with a well-^{equipped} army. When Alexander arrived at the Hydaspes it was swollen by the summer rains, and was difficult to cross: Porus also was carefully guarding the banks. Craterus was ordered to remain on the bank, opposite the camp of the Indian king, and by all kinds of manœuvres to direct his attention to himself, while Alexander at some little distance accomplished the crossing of the river unnoticed by the enemy. The Macedonians won the battle, notwithstanding the elephants of the enemy. Porus surrendered and retained his kingdom, henceforth as a loyal ally of Alexander, who soon afterwards, on the defeat of a second Porus on the other side of the Acesines, entrusted the subjugated kingdom to him. On the site of the battle against the first Porus a new town, Nicæa, was founded; and on the scene of the passage of the Hydaspes another, Bucephala, so called after Alexander's war horse, Bucephalus. Besides this, he ordered a fleet to be built on the Hydaspes, where there was abundance of timber for ship-building, in which to sail down the Indus. While this was being constructed Alexander marched forward over the Hydراotes, but wheeled round at the Hyphasis, being forced to turn round, it is said, by his own soldiers, who, exhausted by their intolerable hardships, clamoured to return.

After the construction of the fleet the return westward was begun. Alexander sailed down the Hydaspes, the Acesines, and lastly the Indus. Divisions of the army on both sides of the rivers accompanied the fleet. The king had frequently to halt, in order to fight the tribes inhabiting the country round. At the storming of the town of the warlike Malli on the lower Acesines, where the king himself was the first to scale the wall, and thence leapt down into the middle of the enemy, he was severely wounded and only saved by the heroic bravery of his followers. At last they reached the town of Pattala at the beginning of the Delta, and eventually the mouth of the Indus. Alexander sailed out into the open sea, and as the first of the Hellenes offered a sacrifice to Poseidon in the midst of the waves of the newly discovered Indian Ocean. Here the Greeks to their intense surprise saw for the first time the ebbing and flowing tide. Everything points to the conclusion that Alexander intended to maintain the Indus as a boundary. To the west of the river he had organised two satrapies: to the east of it lay the two vassal states of Taxiles and Porus. Besides the already mentioned towns of Nicæa and Bucephala, a town was founded on the Acesines,

and Pattala, at the beginning of the Delta of the Indus, was fortified and provided with docks and a harbour.

At the end of the summer of 325 Alexander started from Pattala, whither he had returned after his voyage to the sea and an exploration of the two arms of the mouth of the Indus, marched through Gedrosia (Beloochistan) towards the West, and after an indescribably difficult march through the desert, entailing heavy loss, arrived in Persia. He had ordered his admiral, Nearchus, to sail down the Indus with his fleet and then to put to sea, with instructions to look for the means of communication between the mouths of the Indus and the Euphrates and to collect everywhere information as to the land and its inhabitants. Nearchus executed his task brilliantly. he discovered the sea-route from India to Babylonia through the Persian gulf. Thus the rich and costly treasures of India were opened to the commerce of the Western nations, and the towns founded by Alexander himself on the Indus became serviceable to the new and flourishing trade.

When Alexander reached Persepolis he found his presence urgently necessary. A usurper had arisen in Media and assumed the title of Great King; his treasurer, Harpalus, had fled, guilty of immense embezzlements and breaches of trust; some satraps were oppressing their subjects in the old Persian way, others had enlisted mercenaries and taken them into their personal service. Alexander acted promptly and with merciless rigour, and in a short time restored order.

The next years were devoted to the concerns of the internal administration, the perfecting and strengthening of the new government, and the task of blending the conquerors with the native population. In the spring of 324 Alexander married two princesses of the royal Persian house, Statira and Parysatis. At the same time many Macedonian generals celebrated their nuptials with noble Persian women; Alexander also gave a feast and a wedding present to the soldiers who married Persian wives. This was a wise step towards amalgamating the two races.

The same idea was served by the incorporation into the Macedonian army of thirty thousand Persians, who had been raised by the king's order, armed in Macedonian fashion, and trained according to the Macedonian tactics. The Macedonian army was mortified at the creation of these new troops, but Alexander appeased it by paying the soldiers' debts out of the royal treasury. After the exploration of the two rivers and the removal of hindrances to navigation on the Tigris, in the summer of 324 B.C. Alexander came to Opis, whither Hephaestion had previously led his army. There he dismissed to their homes, under the command of Craterus, ten thousand veterans, in whose place the Persian levies were to step. Discontent in the army broke out and ended in open mutiny. But Alexander's appearance in person had a great effect on the disobedient soldiers; for when the king withdrew from their sight and entrusted his person to the Persians they were filled with remorse and entreated forgiveness. The ten thousand veterans marched homeward without murmuring; the thirty thousand newly levied Persians were enrolled in the army and united with the old army into military units. In the company, sixteen deep, the first files and the last were Macedonians, the intermediate lines Persians.

From Opis Alexander marched to Ecbatana. Here he lost his friend and general, Hephaestion. He lamented for him a long time and paid his memory extravagant honours. He then went on further to subdue the Cossæi, a people that, like the Uxii, had remained independent and led a life of pillage in the middle of his empire. Alexander compelled them to settle and become agriculturists, and founded several strong forts in order to keep them in check.

His career was ended by his death at Babylon (summer, 323 B.C.). He had busied himself to the last with great plans: the country at the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris, as well as the east coast of the Persian Gulf with its islands, were to be colonised, and Phœnicians to be settled there; Arabia was to be circumnavigated, starting from the Persian Gulf, the communications and commerce by sea of these Eastern lands and of the Indus valley with Egypt were to be restored. Alexander was intent at all times and all places in pointing out new paths for trade and intercourse and in promoting civilisation.

Macedonia was no longer the petty inland state of former kings. Freed from its chains and narrow limits by Philip, it became a world-empire under Alexander. Whether the empire would have become permanent if its creator had lived longer, and whether the intention of its bold builder to amalgamate the various nations of that gigantic empire and to unite them into a flourishing political entity would have been realised, are idle speculations.

(f) *The Decay of Alexander's Empire.*—A gloomy silence reigned in Babylon during the night after Alexander's death. The inhabitants kept in their houses and did not even venture to kindle a light. The Macedonians, who felt the insecurity of their position, stood under arms. In reality the situation was extremely uncertain and complicated, since there was no heir and successor; and yet some one had to undertake the conduct of affairs. The foremost generals met in council. After long debate it was decided to await the expected confinement of Roxana and till then to have affairs carried on by a council of regency, consisting of four members.

The infantry, however, under the influence of one of their leaders, Meleagrus, nominated as king Alexander's stepbrother, Philip Arrhidaeus, who was of feeble intellect. The cavalry sided with the generals. In this dispute, which broke out among the Macedonians immediately after the death of the great king, and in the open war which followed, the generals with the cavalry evacuated Babylon and encamped before the town. After long negotiations the contending sides were reconciled. Peace was concluded by the two parties on the terms that Philip Arrhidaeus, as well as the expected child of Alexander, if it proved to be a son, should be clothed with the purple and should reign. Perdiccas was to be entrusted with the conduct of affairs as the highest officer of the realm. Now came the epilogue. At a review and inspection of the army before the gates of Babylon the infantry stood opposite the cavalry and elephants. King Arrhidaeus rode up to the infantry and demanded the surrender of the mutineers and ringleaders, threatening to attack them if they refused compliance. The chiefs of the insurrection were given up, thrown before the elephants and trampled to death. Meleagrus, too, was killed. The position of Perdiccas was powerful, for he completely ruled King Arrhidaeus. Thus order

was once more restored, and the continued existence of the empire seemed secured by the nomination of Philip Arrhidæus as king and by the subsequent birth of a son to Alexander's widow.

But of the two kings, one was a suckling, the other a man of feeble intellect. The generals and commanders, who mostly belonged to the high Macedonian nobility and in some cases (e.g. Leonnatus, Perdiccas) were related to the royal house, had submitted to their great king, and under his rule had been obliged to suppress their ambition and desire of power in the interest of the common good; but the matter now stood thus: Perdiccas was only the equal of most of them in rank and dignity, and yet was to exercise the royal power in the name of the kings, and just as Perdiccas on his side would only be too glad to have the generals go as far away as possible from Babylon, in order that he might not be hindered in the administration of the affairs entrusted to him, so, on the other hand, it was for the interests of the generals to obtain a province where, far removed from the central government, they might hope to find a field for their restless energy and ambition. Thus it was with profit to all that soon after the restoration of order a division of the satrapies was arranged. Antipater received Macedonia and Greece, and Antigonus Greater Phrygia, where he had long been satrap: and to mention only the most important of the others, Ptolemy received Egypt; Leonnatus Hellenopontine Phrygia; Lysimachus Thrace, and Eumenes Cappadocia, which he had first to conquer for himself with the help of his two neighbours, Antigonus and Leonnatus. We have, first of all, to deal with Macedonia and Thrace. While Alexander was conquering the Persian power in Asia, his general, Antipater, had remained behind in Macedonia as regent. The Hellenic states were subject to his direction; they were, indeed, free and bound only by treaties with Macedonia; but they no longer ventured to assert any policy of their own, since the charge of the common interests and the settlement of disputes and feuds were undertaken by the council of the league at Corinth under Macedonian influence. Macedonia had also a seat and a vote in the Amphictyonic council, and thus acquired a most important means of exercising pressure and influence on Greece. In Athens, no less than in other Hellenic states, there was probably no lack of an anti-Macedonian party; but it kept quiet everywhere. The hope of a rising, as at Philip's death and a year afterwards, faded away in proportion as Alexander's victories were known, and thus the help which so many looked for from Darius became impossible.

Sparta alone had made no peace with the Macedonian king. Her king, Agis, who in 333 B.C., aided by money and ships from the Persian admirals, had been able to take possession of the important island of Crete, continued later his intrigues against Macedonia. In the spring of 331 B.C. he was able to ally himself with other Greek states, such as Elis, Achaia (except Pellene), and Arcadia, with the object of freeing Greece from the Macedonian yoke. The allies besieged Megalopolis, which did not wish to go over to them, and remained loyal to Macedonia.

Antipater had now to intervene. But he was confronted in his native country by a difficult situation, of which we have very scanty information. We only learn that the general commanding in Thrace, Zopyrion, perished with his entire army on a campaign against the Getæ, who dwelt north of the Danube.

and that in Thrace itself the native prince, Seuthes, clearly in connection with Zopyrion's overthrow, organised a rising against Macedonia, in which a Macedonian general named Memnon seems to have taken part. Antipater had to take the field against the Thracians, and since Agis soon afterwards revolted was compelled to try to end this war as rapidly as possible by concluding peace, it appears that he surrendered at least a part of Thrace, probably in the hope of reconquering it later.

At this moment his presence in the Peloponnese was urgent. Antipater succeeded in defeating Agis and the allies in a decisive battle before Megalopolis. The Spartan king fell, and the insurrection was crushed. Elis and Achaia had to pay 130 talents to Megalopolis, and even Sparta submitted.

By these means peace was restored in Hellas to outward appearance; but the hope of liberation from the Macedonian yoke, as the supremacy of Macedonia in Greece was called by many, was by no means quenched. It required only a spark to make the smouldering fire blaze into bright flames. This time the insurrection broke out in Athens. Here excitement was caused by the presence and the arrest of Harpalus, Alexander's treasurer, who had fled with vast riches from Ecbatana to avoid the punishment threatened by the king. Next came his escape from Athenian custody and the trial, connected with this circumstance, of Demosthenes, who was condemned. It is true that Harpalus' object, namely, to hurry the Athenians into a war against Macedonia, was not immediately realised, but the money which they took from him on his imprisonment — computed at 700 talents — was destined to be very useful to them. The excitement grew higher when in 324 Alexander, by a decree, permitted the return to their native town of all Greek exiles, with the exception of common criminals and of the expelled Thebans. Athens and the Etolians did not execute this order. Then Alexander died suddenly, and with his death the desired liberation from the power of Macedonia seemed to the patriots to have arrived. Hyperides stood at the head of the movement. Since Alexander had ordered his satraps to dismiss their mercenaries, there were many unemployed soldiers who gladly enlisted. And as Athens had money enough and obtained a skilful general in Leosthenes, an army was soon brought together. An alliance was made with the other Greek states, in order to make the movement general in all Hellas; Etolia especially sent troops and played an active part in the war, which at first took a favourable course for the confederates.

Antipater, who had advanced from Macedonia at the news of the revolt of Greece, was, after a disastrous fight at Heracleia, surrounded and besieged in Lamia. This is, therefore, called the Lamian war. During a sortie of Antipater, Leosthenes fell and with him the real soul of the revolt. When Leonnatus, the governor of Hellespontine Phrygia, came to the help of Antipater, the Hellenes abandoned the siege and advanced against them. In a disastrous battle for the Macedonians, Leonnatus fell; but the junction of his army with Antipater, who came to meet them, was achieved. The latter, strengthened by the army of Craterus, who was leading back the discharged veterans of Alexander, soon afterwards defeated near Crannon the Greeks, in whose ranks disaffections had already appeared, and some contingents of whom had already gone home, and concluded a separate peace with the Greek states. Athens had to consent to alter her constitution and make the possession of a fortune of 2000 drachmas

a qualification for full citizenship, by which means out of twenty-one thousand citizens only nine thousand remained entitled to full rights. Hyperides, Demosthenes, and other men connected with the revolt were condemned to death; and Antipater marched on to Aetolia in order to subdue that country also.

(g) *Macedonia up to the Fall of Alexander's Empire.*—If Perdiccas, when he took over the administration of the empire, had hoped that the central authority would be strong enough to punish any insubordination of the governors and to frustrate their ambitious plans by the imperial army under his command, he was mistaken; it was too soon apparent that there was an impassable gulf between the efforts of the governors to obtain more power and freedom, on the one side, and the supreme authority, representing the unity of the empire, on the other.

This led immediately to the war of Perdiccas against the two governors of Asia Minor, Leonnatus and Antigonus, who had not carried out the commands given them by the administrator of the empire to assist Eumenes in conquering the province of Cappadocia assigned to him. Eumenes joined the side of Perdiccas; Antigonus (for Leonnatus, as we have just seen, had, meantime, fallen in Thessaly) was supported by Antipater, Craterus, and Ptolemy of Egypt. Antipater and Craterus had to cross into Asia Minor to fight Eumenes. Craterus was killed in the war. Perdiccas himself went to Egypt, and after carrying on unsuccessful operations, which cost the lives of many men, was murdered by his own soldiers (321 B.C.). His army was led back to Syria. It here joined Antipater, who was now appointed regent of the empire. At Triparadisus, for the second time, a division of the provinces was made (cf. further on, p. 145). In Europe, Antipater kept Macedonia with Greece, and Lysimachus Thrace. Antigonus was nominated general of the empire and entrusted with the war against Eumenes, who had been declared an enemy of the empire on account of his taking the side of Perdiccas. Antipater, after the discharge of the most urgent business with the kings, went to Europe and took up his residence at Pella, Babylon, which lay in the very centre of Alexander's empire, was abandoned as capital.

Another still more important step, which was fated to contribute much to the disintegration of the mighty empire, was likewise taken by Antipater. Before his death, which took place in 319 B.C., he had nominated an old comrade in arms, by name Polyperchon, to be regent. His own son Cassander, who had been passed over by his father, deeply hurt at this slight, fled to Antigonus, who was governor of Phrygia, and at the same time in the name of the kings as *stratagus* was conducting the war in Asia against Eumenes.

Polyperchon, who till now quite unknown and possessed of no authority, had been suddenly placed at the head of the empire, naturally looked for supporters. At his advice King Philip issued a decree that conceded to the Greeks the re-introduction of the constitutions which they had had at the time of Alexander, and allowed the Greek exiles to return to their native cities. This was an appeal to the democrats of Greece, for Antipater as far as possible had favoured the oligarchs, and Cassander likewise had maintained the oligarchic institutions. What Polyperchon wished to attain by this proclamation, namely, to bring over to his side the Greek communities, especially Athens and the Peloponnesians, was not effected. Disturbances broke out at Athens: an attempt was made to intro-

duce the democratic constitutions abolished by Antipater, but the Macedonian garrison in Munychia, commanded by Nicanor, was in favour of Cassander. And when Nicanor seized the Piræus, and when afterwards Cassander himself came to Athens, the town was obliged to content itself with the governor set over them by him, Demetrius of Phalerum. In the Peloponnese also Polyperchon achieved nothing. He failed to get possession of Megalopolis, which was under oligarchic government and had long favoured Macedonia. Thus he was restricted to Macedonia.

But another measure by which he thought to make his power more felt seemed more successful. He joined forces with Olympias, mother of the great Alexander, an enemy of Antipater and his house. Olympias, however, was at enmity with Eurydice, the wife of King Philip, who must have felt herself deeply injured by this arrangement between her and Polyperchon. These two allied themselves with Eumenes, who, having been nominated *strategus* in Asia with ample resources, was still fighting against Antigonus, and undertook to defend the rights of the kings. Eurydice allied herself with Cassander, who, through her agency, had been appointed regent by King Philip. The empire thus had two administrators, neither of whom had been appointed, as their two predecessors, by the really competent and popular representative body, the army, and both of whom were only partially recognised and at war with each other.

Events in Macedonia were determined by the two hostile women, Olympias and Eurydice. Olympias, who had stayed in Epirus, availed herself of the absence of Cassander from Macedonia to make an inroad. Eurydice marched against her with an army; but it went over to her foe, since the Macedonians would not fight against the mother of their great king. So Philip and Eurydice fell into the power of the cruel Epirote princess, who caused both to be mercilessly tortured and miserably slain, and wreaked her fury equally on the kinsmen and adherents of Cassander. But when Cassander arrived from Greece and appeared in southern Macedonia without Polyperchon's being able to hinder his crossing the mountains, Olympias shut herself up in Pydna; and when provisions gave out and the ship in which she wished to escape was taken away, she had to surrender. Impeached before the army by the friends and relatives of the many Macedonians killed by her, she was condemned to death; and as the old soldiers refused to slay the mother of their king, she was stoned by her accusers.

Roxana and the young king, Alexander, had fallen into the hands of Cassander at Pydna, and he kept them in strict custody. After the fall of Pydna, Pella surrendered to the conqueror, and soon afterwards the strong fortress of Amphipolis. Thus Cassander was in a short time master of Macedonia. Polyperchon, it is true, maintained his position in the Peloponnese and some other places of Greece; but his post of administrator had lost all possible significance since the one king was dead and the other in the power of Cassander. Eumenes also, the ally of Polyperchon, and the most zealous protector of the royal rights, had been betrayed in the war against Antigonus by his own troops and murdered by his enemy. In fact, matters were in a favourable position for Cassander. His marriage with Thessalonice, daughter of Philip, who had been at Pydna in the suite of Olympias, was sure to increase his importance with the Macedonians

and even to give him claims to the Macedonian throne when Alexander's son was no longer alive. For the time being, indeed, he *was* alive and universally recognised as king. But some years later the young Alexander was murdered by his keeper, Glaucias, at the command of Cassander.

(h) *Maccedonia as a Member of the Empire of the Diadochi.*—With the death of Alexander's son the empire of Alexander the Great became only a geographical conception. In fact, it was split up into separate parts, and the central power, continually weakened since Antipater's death, had completely vanished. The generals now regarded the provinces, which had been originally assigned to them by a higher power merely for administration, as their own dominions. It was, therefore, only natural that after 306 B.C. they styled themselves "Kings," for kings they had been for years. However much Cassander may have striven at first for the possession of the Macedonian throne, in no case did he contemplate any schemes of world sovereignty and try to reorganise the empire of Alexander in its full extent. On the contrary, he opposed efforts such as Antigonus, for instance, made after the death of Eumenes, and was on the side of Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Seleucus in their struggles against Antigonus, which lasted until his schemes of conquest were ended by the battle which the allies won at Ipsus (301 B.C.). Cassander's influence in Greece, which had been allied with Macedonia since Philip's time, and did not exist apart from Macedonia, no longer extended so widely, and was no longer so firm as it had been in his father's time. Demetrius of Phalerum, it is true, governed in his name at Athens; and Boeotia also, where Thebes had been rebuilt and repeopled by him, stood under his influence, so did Epirus and other districts. But Polyperchon still opposed him in Greece, and the feeling in Ætolia was very hostile to him. The importance of Polyperchon waned, indeed, rapidly. In the year 310 he dragged Heracles, bastard son of Alexander, out of his retirement at Pergamus and declared him his heir with the intention of striking a heavy blow at Cassander; but he suddenly entered into negotiations with Cassander and bought for himself the sovereignty over the Peloponnese by the murder of Heracles. From that moment the last imperial regent vanishes from history without leaving a trace.

A far more important antagonist in Hellas confronted Cassander in the person of Demetrius Poliorcetes, the son of Antigonus (see Fig. 2 of the subjoined plate, "Portraits on Coins of Alexander the Great and Hellenistic Princes"), who in 307 B.C., starting with Athens, subdued for himself other Hellenic communities and territories. Cassander saw himself freed from a great danger, when in 302 Demetrius was summoned by his father to Asia, in order to take part in the great struggle that was to end with the battle of Ipsus and the death of Antigonus. This forced Demetrius to abandon his plan of wresting Macedonia from his opponent. Now for the first time Cassander was able to subdue the Hellenic states, such as the Boeotians and others, which in the interval had been subject to Poliorcetes.

Though Cassander's power was disputed in Hellas, in Macedonia itself his throne was firm. We have, unfortunately, little account of what he did for his country. He rebuilt Potidaea, the town in Chalcidice which Philip II. destroyed, and called it Cassandria. He considerably enlarged the former Therma, situated



ALEXANDER THE GREAT OF
MACEDONIA



DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES, KING
OF MACEDONIA

(From Imhoof Blumer's "Portrait Heads on Coins of Hellenic Nations")



MITHRIDATES THE GREAT, KING OF
PONTUS



TIGRANES, KING OF ARMENIA

(From Th. Reinach, "Mithridate Eupator")

PORTRAITS ON COINS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND
THE HELLENISTIC KINGS

on the gulf of that name, and called this new and more extensive foundation Thessalonica after his wife. The town has kept this name to the present day. Cassandria and Thessalonica, supported in every way by the king, became the most important seaports of Macedonia. A proof of his desire to improve the country, which had been greatly depopulated by the large levies and long wars, and to attract new inhabitants is the settlement of twenty thousand Autariates on Mount Orbelus. These Autariates, an Illyrian people, being pressed by other and stronger tribes, invaded Pœonia, where the king, Audeleon, applied to Cassander for help. Instead of slaughtering them, he settled them in his land, and by this means helped both parties.

Cassander died in 297 B.C., and his son and successor, Philip III., did not long survive him.

The two other sons, Antipater and Alexander, divided the power between them. Now began for Macedonia a time of terrible struggles and great revolutions. Antipater killed his mother, Thessalonice, and expelled his brother, Alexander. The latter sought help from Pyrrhus of Epirus and Demetrius Poliorectes, while Antipater solicited the aid of Lysimachus. Demetrius was occupied by Greek affairs, and could not immediately furnish the desired help, but Pyrrhus, to whom Alexander as a reward had conceded Tymphaea and Parauæa, besides Athamania, Ambracia, and Amphilochia, succeeded in driving Antipater back and restoring Alexander to power. Lysimachus did not, it is true, make any armed intervention in Macedonian affairs for the support of Antipater, but mediated a peace between the two brothers and induced Pyrrhus, by a bribe of 300 talents, to desist from helping Alexander, clearly because he wished to keep his enemy, Demetrius, away from Macedonia. He failed to do this; in fact, Demetrius Poliorectes appeared now, when he was no longer welcome, resolved to use this opportunity and to make himself master of Macedonia. Alexander went to meet him as far as Dion on the southern frontier of Macedonia, in order to make it evident that his interference was no longer necessary. In spite of feigned friendliness, the two princes regarded each other with great mistrust, since one was secretly plotting against the life of the other. In fact, Alexander was murdered while leaving the banqueting hall, where he had dined with Demetrius, and his army declared Demetrius, who justified himself before it, to be King of Macedonia. Antipater, who had made himself hated by the murder of his own mother, was banished without trouble.

Demetrius was now King of Macedonia (294-287 B.C.). His restless spirit did not content itself with firmly establishing supremacy in Macedonia and Hellas, but wished to reconquer Asia, which Seleucus and Lysimachus had divided between themselves after the death of Antigonus. The mighty preparations made for this purpose aroused the anxiety of these kings so that they formed fresh alliances. Pyrrhus joined them. Demetrius proposed to open the campaign with 98,000 infantry, 12,000 cavalry, and 500 ships. The kings advanced against him simultaneously from different directions. Lysimachus invaded Macedonia from the Thracian side, but was defeated near Amphipolis. Pyrrhus advanced from the west, and Ptolemy appeared with his fleet on the coast of Hellas. Demetrius was fated to learn now how detested his rule was. An insatiate love of war and the imposition of heavy taxes cannot win the hearts of subjects. As he was encamped opposite to Pyrrhus, his army

went over and proclaimed the Epirote king Demetrius had to flee his kingdom in disguise. He died in Asia 283 B.C., a prisoner of Seleucus, while his son, Antigonus Gonatas, held his own in Hellas. In Macedonia, Pyrrhus came to an agreement with Lysimachus, who naturally claimed his share in the booty on the conditions that the western districts with Edessa fell to Epirus, the eastern to Thrace. But this state of affairs did not last long. Pyrrhus, who was only king by a temporary arrangement, was driven out by Lysimachus.

In the previous years Lysimachus had united under his rule a great part of Alexander's empire. At the distribution of satrapies at Babylon, Thrace had fallen to his share. When he came into his new province he was absolutely unpopular. During the government of Antipater, as we have seen above (p. 131), the Odrysæ, under Seuthes, had already risen and, as it appears, had won their independence. When Lysimachus came, the same Seuthes had succeeded in rousing his fellow-countrymen to war, and marched against him with a strong army of 20,000 infantry and 8000 cavalry. Lysimachus, notwithstanding his far inferior numbers, did not avoid a battle, which, thanks to the excellent discipline of the Macedonians, remained indecisive. Seuthes was afterwards conquered and forced to submit. Thus it was only by fighting that Lysimachus acquired possession of his province. But once in possession of the country of the Odrysæ, the fertile and favoured valley of the Hebrus, he extended his power gradually over the Haemus up to the Danube.

Here, on the coast of the Black Sea, were Greek colonies, Odessus, Callatis, Istrus and others, which, like the Greek towns of Asia Minor, were proud of their freedom and sought to retain it by force of arms. Lysimachus evidently succeeded at first in making himself master of these towns and occupying them with garrisons. In 313 B.C. Callatis expelled the garrison, declared itself free, and liberated Istrus also and other neighbouring Greeks. This was the signal for the outbreak of a war, in which Lysimachus very soon retook Odessus and Istrus, but was compelled to besiege Callatis for a considerable time. When the Scythian and Thracian tribes also encroached and Seuthes again revolted, Antigonus supporting the hostile movements by sending troops, Lysimachus required all his skill to defend himself against the different enemies. But the Scythians were beaten, Seuthes was overcome in battle, Antigonus' general was conquered, and Callatis finally surrendered. From that time, it appears, the Greek towns on the coast of the Black Sea were permanently subject to Lysimachus.

In 306 B.C. he, like the other governors, assumed the title of King; and in 301 B.C. he was, next to Seleucus, the chief participator in the decisive fight against Antigonus at Ipsus. Lydia, Ionia, Caria, and Hellespontine Phrygia fell to the kingdom of Thrace. Notwithstanding its magnificence, it was not securely founded. The Thracians themselves were difficult to pacify and always inclined to rise, especially the unruly and unmanageable Getæ and Scythians in the North. Lysimachus once marched against the Getæ over the Danube, but got among the barren steppes between the Danube and the Pruth, and, continually surrounded and harassed by the bands of the enemy, was finally forced to surrender unconditionally to their king, Dromichætes. The conduct of the barbarian king was, indeed, noble and magnanimous: he let his prisoner go free on the promise to give up the portions of Getic territory which he possessed and to give him his daughter in marriage. In 287 B.C. Macedonia

also fell to Lysimachus. From 285 on he was king there, but in 281 B.C. he was defeated and killed in battle against Seleucus.

Neither Thrace nor Macedonia was destined to enjoy quiet during the ensuing years. Ptolemy Ceraunus, who, abandoning the prospect of the Egyptian throne in favour of his younger brother, according to the wish of his father, Ptolemy Soter, had left his fatherland, struck down the old Seleucus, placed the double diadem of Macedonia and Thrace on his own head, and married the widow of Lysimachus, Arsinoe, who was his own sister. He then killed her children of the first marriage, who had claims on Thrace. But fate soon overtook himself.

In the first quarter of the fourth century B.C. appear the earliest signs, for us at least, of a movement which, coming from the Northwest, convulsed Thrace and Macedonia. On the south bank of the Danube there dwelt in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. the Getae, between the sea and Mount Haemus. To the west of them were settled some smaller tribes, which in turn the Oescus (now Isker) divided from the Triballi, living in modern Servia. About 340 B.C. the Getae had to a large extent left the south bank of the Danube and had crossed over to the other bank of the river, while the Triballi, pushed further westward, occupied the districts between the Danube and Mount Haemus, abandoned by them. Diodorus relates that the Triballi, compelled by hunger, marched out with bag and baggage (about 370 B.C.) and in their invasion of the neighbouring Thracian territory reached the town of Abdera, situated on the coast of the Aegean Sea, defeated all its effective forces, and besieged the town itself. The Athenian, Chabrias, liberated the beleaguered town and drove the enemy from the land. We know nothing more of this expedition, except that it clearly did not have the desired success: as a fact the Triballi only changed their abode by an expedition made towards the East.

This was no ordinary marauding expedition, as Diodorus thinks, for the point was that, being pressed by other stronger tribes, they were forced to leave their old homes. It was, indeed, through the Celts, who from the northern side of the Alps and from the plains of the Danube pressed southward on the Illyrians and there produced revolutions (twenty thousand Autaries, who had abandoned their homes, had been settled on Mount Orbelus by Cassander), just as they strove to spread eastward and thereby pushed the Thracian tribes onward. The Celtic Scordisci pressed on as far as the valley of the Morawa, where formerly the Triballi dwelt. These are the first discernible traces of a flood of nations which was destined to break with fury over Macedonia and Thrace. Powerful rulers, indeed, like Philip, Alexander, Antipater, Cassander, and Lysimachus, had kept the surrounding nations in check and, in any case, protected their own territories. An expedition into Thrace for plunder and conquest by the Celts, or, as they are mostly called, the "Galatians," under their leader, Cambaules, must, indeed, come within the time of these last-named rulers; but that expedition did not at the time assume formidable proportions.

On the fall of Lysimachus the Galatians poured in three separate bodies over the Balkan peninsula: the bands of Belgus turned towards Macedonia, demanded money from King Ptolemy Ceraunus in case he wished for peace, and when he refused, invaded the land, ravaging and laying it waste. The king was defeated and killed. The whole land was at the mercy of the barbarians. The

In this manner Antigonus Gonatas rescued Macedonia and restored his influence in Greece. This powerful position, however, was soon to entangle him in a new war, in preparation for which the Kings Ptolemy of Egypt and Areus of Sparta, together with Athens, formed a confederacy. The old catchword of the liberation of Greece was used here: and yet nothing is more certain than that every one of the kings taking part in this war understood by freedom merely the destruction of the Macedonian influence and aimed only at the widening of his own sphere of sovereignty. This war, usually called the Chremonidean War (after Chremonides, the leading statesman in Athens, under whose archonship the alliance for the freedom of Greece was concluded), was mostly fought round Athens, which was besieged by Antigonus and at last captured in 263 B.C. The attempt of the Spartan king to relieve Athens was unsuccessful. Areus himself fell in a bloody battle (265); even the expected help from Ptolemy failed, the Egyptian fleet having been completely defeated near Cos. Athens was forced to surrender to Antigonus, who treated it with leniency. He placed garrisons on the Museum and in Munychia and Piræus. So Athens, after it had been free for some twenty-five years, was once more dependent on Macedonia, as formerly in the first years of Cassander (cf. above, p. 132). But the rest of Greece withdrew itself more and more from the influence of Macedonia. In 280 B.C. four Achæan towns had united into a league, which six others soon joined, the professed object being the expulsion of the Macedonian garrisons and the overthrow of the Macedonian supremacy. Its importance was insignificant at first. Yet in 251 B.C. Aratus liberated his own town of Sicyon from tyrants and induced it to enter the Achæan league. Acrocorinth was then wrested from the Macedonian garrison, and Corinth likewise joined the same league. At last Megara, Troezene and other towns were won for the Achæans and withdrawn from the Macedonian hegemony. And just as in the Peloponnese the Achæan league gained ground and with set purpose checked Macedonia, so the Ætolian league was founded in central Greece, which, gaining ground more and more, attached towns and districts to itself, and in 245 B.C. compelled the country of Bœotia to join it. When Antigonus Gonatas died in 239 B.C. at an advanced age, the Macedonian supremacy over Greece had thus suffered great loss. Only in Macedonia was the throne of the Antigonides firm.

Demetrius II (239-229 B.C.) failed to evoke in Greece any important reaction in favour of Macedonia. Of the so-called war of Demetrius, which he carried on against the allied Ætolians and Achæans, we know little, except that the Macedonian king inflicted various defeats on the Ætolians and ravaged their land, the result of the war being the recovery of Bœotia.

The attitude of Demetrius towards the Illyrians was fated to bring about most weighty consequences in the future. The Macedonian kings had been forced to fight these neighbouring tribes. It is true that they had been sometimes conquered, but still oftener had they driven out and disheartened the enemy, who were always ready for inroads. It was admittedly to the interest of Macedonia, as of Greece, if all these Northern barbarian tribes were as much as possible kept in check. But Demetrius, far from attacking and attempting to weaken the power of Agron, prince of Scodra, who with his large pirate fleet rendered the Adriatic Sea unsafe, made raids as far as Elis and Messene and

harassed the Greek settlements on the Illyrian coast, actually supported him with money in order with the assistance of the Illyrians to rescue the Acaeanian town of Medeon, which was besieged by the Ætolians. He attained, indeed, his immediate object. In order to check the growing insolence of the Illyrians and to prevent the subjugation of the Greek colonies, Rome had to interfere. Illyria was humiliated and its fleet of corsairs broken up. Coreyra, Epidamnus, Apollonia, and the Epirote tribes of the Parthini and Atintani became allies of Rome. Rome had broken the power of the Illyrian princes, deserved the gratitude of the Greeks, and opened the way for the establishment of her influence in Greek affairs, thus undertaking the duty which once Macedonia was accustomed to discharge, of protecting the civilised world from the wild barbarians of the North.

On another part of the frontier of the kingdom the prospect was also gloomy. East of the Illyrians and north of the Macedonians dwelt the Dardani, who from old times were accustomed to make raids from their mountains on the fertile lands below them, until Philip and Alexander by vigorous methods secured the frontier against them, as against the other barbarian tribes. But in the confusion after Alexander's death and, above all, in the gloomy times after Cassander the Dardani, just as other barbarian peoples, had broken away from Macedonia, had increased their strength under native princes, and were now again disposed, as formerly, to make inroads into the country. On one such invasion, which occurred in 229 B.C., Demetrius advanced against them, but lost the battle, and was either killed in it or died soon afterwards.

A near relation of the royal house, Antigonus, surnamed Doson, took over the government for Philip V., the infant son of Demetrius, just as Philip II. had once ruled for his infant nephew (cf. above, p. 95). The circumstances under which Philip II. and Antigonus Doson assumed the government also were similar; in both cases, difficult as they were, there was need of a grown man. In the North the Dardani had overrun Macedonia. In central Greece, it is true, Demetrius had by the recovery of Boeotia restored the Macedonian influence; and even Athens, still a very important town, submitted, so long as Macedonian garrisons occupied Piraeus, Munychia, Salamis, and Sunium. But now Athens, too, was lost for Macedonia, since the commander of the garrison, bribed by Aratus, the general of the Achaean league, gave up the places to the Athenians. Athens did not, indeed, join the Achaean league, as Aratus and the Achaeans had hoped; but Macedonia had forever lost a strong base of operations. Thessaly, too, which since Philip's time had been allied with Macedonia, revolted, and the Ætolians, the old enemies of Macedonia, were successful in extending their power there.

Doson secured his frontier for the time by driving out the Dardani. He then brought back the greater part of Thessaly to its allegiance. He also won successes in Greece. The progress which Sparta made under King Cleomenes, and the expansion of the Spartan power in the successful war with the Achaean league, compelled Aratus, general of the Achaean league, finally to seek help against Sparta from Macedonia, the very power by combating which the league had grown strong. Antigonus naturally granted the request, came with an army to the Peloponnese (223 B.C.), once more took possession of the citadel and city of Corinth, and defeated Cleomenes so decisively in the battle at

Sellasia (221 B.C.) that he was forced to fly to Egypt for safety. The newly acquired power of Sparta was crushed at one blow; the supremacy of Macedonia in the Peloponnese, from which it had since Antigonus Gonatas been forced to retreat step by step, was restored, and in most states of Hellas the Macedonian overlordship was again recognised. For besides the Achæans, in whose interests Doson had come, the Acarnanians, Arcadians, Phocians, Boeotians, Thessalians, and Epirotes concluded a league with Antigonus, the hegemony in which rested with Macedonia: the members were not allowed to send letters or embassies to any other king contrary to the will of the leading state, and undertook to pay and maintain Macedonian garrisons.

An inroad of the Illyrians summoned Doson back to Macedonia: he defeated them, but soon afterwards died from : οὐλῶν, 220 B.C. Philip V., son of Demetrius, for whom Doson had been regent, now became king. The *Ætolians*, fearing Doson, had for some time kept quiet, but now, despising Philip's youth, they recommenced their old raids; they invaded and ravaged West Achaia and Messenia and inflicted a defeat at Caphyæ on the Achæans, who, under Aratus, had resolved to help the Messenians. Philip now appeared in the council of the league at Corinth. Here the combined action against the *Ætolians* was determined on, which is commonly called the war of the confederates (220-217 B.C.). After marauding expeditions into the enemy's territory without decisive blows had been made, peace was at last concluded at Naupactus (217 B.C.), which recognised the *status quo* of the belligerents. Philip would, indeed, have done better to have staked everything in order to humiliate the *Ætolians*, these old enemies of his country, and to put an end to their ceaseless attacks and disturbances. But here, as elsewhere, the king showed a want of prudence in his actions.

In the meanwhile, Rome had been reduced by Hannibal to a perilous situation. Philip, in order to satisfy his hatred of the Romans, which he had inherited from his father, concluded peace with the *Ætolians* and an alliance with Hannibal, according to which a Macedonian army was to be landed in Italy, in return the Roman possessions in Epirus were to be given to Philip. Thus the first Macedonian War broke out (216-208 B.C.). Philip, however, did not rouse himself to vigorous action. He began, it is true, with an attack on the towns in Epirus which belonged to the Romans or were allied with them; but the appearance of a Roman division on that coast was sufficient to take from him Oricum, which he had captured, and to set free the town of Apollonia, which he was besieging (214 B.C.). Moreover, the plan of landing a Macedonian force in Italy waned in proportion as the position of the Romans gradually improved and that of Hannibal grew less favourable. In 210 B.C. Rome concluded a treaty of alliance with *Ætolia*, Sparta and other states, so that Philip was again occupied in Greece and involved in a war, in which the Achæans stood on his side, and the movements of his opponents were supported by a Roman fleet. Just as in the war of the confederates, the chief incidents of the campaign were incursions into the enemy's territory and the capture of individual towns; no decisive blows were struck. After he had come to terms with the *Ætolians* and the other Hellenes, Philip concluded a peace with Rome also, which had no intention of carrying on the war against Macedonia without Greek help: Rome kept her possessions in Epirus; Philip took the territory of the Atintani.

But this was, after all, only a truce between Macedonia and Rome; a decisive

settlement between the two was reserved for a later time. Philip turned his attention for the moment to affairs in the East, since Rome was still fully occupied in the West. The death of Ptolemy Philopator of Egypt (204 B.C.), who was succeeded on the throne by a minor, led to a treaty of alliance between Philip and Antiochus III. of Syria. The two allied monarchs had no meaner schemes in view than the partition of the possessions of the Lagidae. While Antiochus immediately set about the conquest of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, Philip crossed to Asia Minor, took Chaledon, stormed Chios, and sold its inhabitants into slavery. Lampsacus also fell, and Thasus, which was taken by the Macedonian fleet, suffered the fate of Chios. Such acts justly incensed the Greeks—Byzantium, Rhodes, and Pergamus, whose prince, Attalus, had already fought in the first Macedonian War on the side of the Romans against Philip, and was now indignant at a destructive invasion of the Macedonians, concluded an alliance and declared war on Macedonia. Philip claimed the victory in two sea battles, at any rate, he landed on the Carian coast and began to reduce the Carian towns. In 201 B.C. he returned to Macedonia, leaving garrisons behind him in Caria.

Attalus and Rhodes sought help from the Romans. At first they hesitated; finally the invasion by Philip of the territory of their allies, the Athenians, who had put to death two Acaeanians, his supporters, gave the pretext for war. The Second Macedonian War then began. In autumn, 200 B.C., the consul, P. Sulpicius Galba, landed at Apollonia with two legions and one thousand cavalry, while a Roman fleet surprised Chaleis in Eubœa, one of the Macedonian strongholds. In the spring of 199 B.C. Galba invaded Macedonia from Epirus, being supported by simultaneous attacks of the Dardani and Illyrians on the North and of the Etolians and Athamanians on the South. Philip was in a critical situation, but he repelled his opponents. Galba withdrew, and the Etolians were beaten on the Peneirus. The year 198 B.C. also brought no decisive result. Philip marched into Epirus and encamped in the narrow valley of the Aous, opposite the Roman general, T. Quinctius Flamininus, who now held the chief command in Galba's place; but he had to retire, defeated. The peace negotiations here commenced and continued during the winter led to nothing.

In the summer of 197 B.C. the decisive battle was at length fought near Cynocephala (the Hills of the Dog's Head) in Thessaly: Philip was totally defeated, and accepted the conditions of peace to which he had not previously been able to consent. He had to give up to the Romans, who left them once more free, all the towns recently taken or previously possessed by him in Asia Minor and Greece. He was also compelled to surrender his fleet and to pledge himself to keep up only five thousand armed men and to wage no wars outside Macedonia. In this way Macedonia was struck out of the list of great powers. In the war of Rome with Antiochus III., that broke out shortly after, Philip stood on the side of Rome, but was disappointed in his hope of being permitted to hold some of the conquered Thessalian and Thracian towns. He did not, however, give up his hatred of Rome and the expectation of better times. He contrived skilfully to evade the command not to keep more than five thousand armed men. He was continually training the young men (of whom he certainly never had more than five thousand under arms at the same time— we may compare the Prussian “Krumpersystem” after 1807), so that he left behind a well-disciplined army of thirty thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry. He also knew

how to make skilful use of the royal powers of taxation, he revived the working of the mines and made them profitable to the state coffers. At any rate, at his death in 179 B.C. there was money in the treasury sufficient to keep ten thousand mercenaries for ten years, and in the state granaries a supply of corn also for ten years, while the arsenals were full of weapons of every sort.

His son Perseus tried to carry out his father's unaccomplished plans, directed against Rome. In spite of a favourable start, the third Macedonian War (171-168 B.C.) only ended in the overthrow of the Macedonians at Pydna by *Æ*Emilius Paulus. The Macedonian monarchy was abolished. Macedonia was divided into four independent departments. Representatives of the towns and village communities discharged public business, meeting in departmental synods. This state of things was not permanent: after a pretender (Andriscus) had come forward and had been defeated by a Roman army, Macedonia became a Roman province (146 B.C.).

The task of the Macedonian kings, to keep guard against the barbarians and to protect civilisation and culture from their attacks, now fell to Rome. The Roman governors of Macedonia fought almost uninterruptedly against the Thracian tribes and the Dardani, until at last under Augustus, Roman legions pressed on victoriously from the upper course of the Danube and from the shores of the Adriatic. After various campaigns the Thracian tribes were subdued, and even the kingdom of the Odrysæ in the valley of the Hebrus, which towards the end had been a close ally of Rome against its neighbours, was incorporated into the Roman empire (46 A.D.). From the Adriatic Sea, from Apollonia and Dyrrachium, the Egnatian Way (*Via Egnatia*) went eastward to the Propontis. From Byzantium, past Adrianopol and Philippopolis, a great road led along the Danube to Sirmium and connected with the high road leading from Italy over the Alps. Thus new towns and settlements sprang up, and the old towns flourished under a long peace.

Rome first and then Byzantium protected and guarded these parts until the Goths, the Huns and other barbarians broke into the Balkan peninsula. They ravaged and destroyed all that flourished, and annihilated the conquests won through long years by a higher civilisation (cf. Vol. VI.).

4. THE EMPIRE OF THE SELEUCIDÆ AND THE GREECO-BACTRIAN EMPIRE

A. THE ORIGIN AND THE GROWTH OF THE EMPIRE (FROM SELEUCUS TO ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT)

WHEN Alexander died his mighty empire fell to pieces. In the West, in Europe, Asia Minor, and Egypt, independent kingdoms were formed, the history of which is told in another place. We shall here occupy ourselves with the destinies of the Eastern countries extending between Asia Minor and Egypt from the Phœnician coast to the Jaxartes and from the slopes of the Taurus to the Indus, those lands which once owned the sway of the Achaemenidae and formed the flower of their dominions until conquered by Alexander and incorporated into his monarchy. The death of the great king brought no great immediate

changes to these districts; Babylon remained the capital of the empire, and the provinces continued, for the most part, under their previous governors, excepting Media. At the partition of satrapies at Babylon, Media fell to Pithon, son of Crateuas, while its former possessor, the Persian, Atropates, was restricted to the northwestern part of Media, the province later called Atropatene after him: Syria, which we include here, was on this occasion given to Laomedon of Mytilene.

A great change in the affairs of the East took place at the death of Perdiccas (321 B.C.). Babylon ceased to be the capital; the new regent, Antipater, took the kings with him to Europe. In this way the centre of gravity in the empire was removed from the middle to the edge of it, and the connection between individual parts and the whole, already loose, became looser still. The new partition of satrapies at Triparadisus, which had been taken in hand by the new regent, Antipater, affected the East much more extensively than the former partition. Laomedon, indeed, retained Syria; Peucestas, Persia, and Pithon, Media; but Parthia received a new governor in Philip, as did Bactria and Sogdiana in Stasanor, Mesopotamia in Amphimachus, Susiana in Antigenes, and, what is most important for the ensuing period, Babylon in Seleucus.

Seleucus was born c. 356 B.C. A member of the Macedonian nobility, he, like all his companions, entered early into the army and followed Alexander into Asia. He owed it not merely to his birth, but also to his courage and capabilities, that he belonged to the more intimate circle around the king. We are told, as an instance of his great strength and his courage, that one day in the presence of Alexander he brought a raging bull to the ground. He distinguished himself in the Indian campaign and in the battle against Porus, commanding a part of the infantry, the so-called royal Hypaspists. At the great wedding festival at Susa he received Apama, daughter of Spitamenes, as wife. After Alexander's death, he assumed the command of the household cavalry in place of Perdiccas, now regent: Alexander had attached peculiar distinction to this post, and the holder of it, who was then called Chiliarch, filled, according to Persian precedent, at the same time one of the highest places at court. In this office he made the campaigns of Perdiccas against the insubordinate governors, first against Antigonus and later against Ptolemy of Egypt. When the Egyptian campaign failed, he was among those generals who abandoned their commander; and it is to him and Antigenes, leader of the Argyraspides, that the murder of the regent is ascribed. He was appointed at Triparadisus governor of the province of Babylon. Since he had, on his accession to office, been removed from the Chiliarchy and the command over the household cavalry, he had to make it his first concern immediately to create an army for himself: Alexander's principle that no satrap should keep an army had been disregarded directly after his death. Seleucus was very soon drawn into the whirlpool of events. Eumenes, who had sided with Perdiccas, had been declared an enemy to the empire at Triparadisus; Antigonus had been appointed strategus and entrusted with the conduct of the war against Eumenes. This war took a new turn when Eumenes, after the death of Antipater, had been appointed strategus in Asia by the regent, Polyperchon, and by Olympias, mother of Alexander, and had been amply provided with funds (cf. above, p. 133). To this alliance Eumenes owed the transference to his side of the excellent body of Argyraspides under Antigenes. The

theatre of war was shifted to the East, where he at once found support from the governors of the easterly provinces. These were still with their troops in Media, where they had expelled Peithon, who had killed Philip, satrap of Parthia, had placed his own brother in his place, and had thus roused the suspicions of other satraps.

But Seleucus neither took part in the combination against Peithon nor did he then join the side of Eumenes. He expressly declared that he could not make common cause with the enemy of the empire. On the contrary, he joined Antigonus, who came to the East in order there to prosecute the war against Eumenes. Fortune, indeed, seemed to smile on Seleucus at first. He received the province of Susiana, the former governor of which, Antigenes, fought on the enemy's side; but fortune proved fickle. When Antigonus had put to death Eumenes, betrayed by his own troops and handed over to his enemy, he behaved as an absolute despot, and arbitrarily appointed and deposed governors. When he was in Babylon, he required from Seleucus, from whom he had already taken away Susiana, an account of his administration: the latter refused. Seleucus felt himself no longer safe, and fled from Babylon. He escaped to Egypt and found a hospitable welcome at the court of Ptolemy.

The great power of Antigonus, as well as his despotic behaviour, led to an alliance of Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander, to the consummation of which Seleucus contributed his share. Wars then ensued, which continued almost without cessation from 315 to 301 (cf. also above, pp. 134 *et seq.*). Of these, only the struggle for Syria and Phœnicia, with which the first war began, is important for us. Ptolemy had occupied these countries: Antigonus drove him out, and when he himself went back over the Taurus, in order to be near the scene of war in Asia Minor, he left behind his son Demetrius there. The decisive defeat of the latter at Gaza and the reconquest of Syria by Ptolemy allowed Seleucus to return to Babylon (312 B.C.). Seleucus had undertaken the march with only eight hundred infantry and two hundred cavalry; but the population, whose love he had known how to win previously, welcomed him back. As most of the garrisons, too, went over to him, he was able without great trouble to re-enter on the possession of his province.

When Seleucus, together with Lysimachus of Thrace, appeared in Asia Minor for the last decisive passage of arms with his old opponent, Antigonus, he had extended his power far over the borders of Babylonia and created for himself an empire, which went from the Euphrates eastward to the Jaxartes and comprised all the so-called upper satrapies. It would be interesting to be able to follow the distinct steps of this expansion of his power, but our sources fail here. We only hear that Seleucus unexpectedly by night attacked Nicanor, who had been placed by Antigonus as strategus in Media and the upper satrapies, and had advanced upon the news of Seleucus' return to Babylon, in this night attack many distinguished leaders fell, among them the satrap of Persia, and the greater part of the troops went over to Seleucus. Nicanor was forced to fly. Susiana, Media, and Persia fell to Seleucus, who thus won a powerful position. The feeling of the upper satrapies was not favourable to Antigonus, which was to Seleucus' advantage. The governors of those parts either voluntarily submitted or, as in Bactria, were forced into submission. Similarly he tried to make the Macedonian power once more felt in India, where it had been destroyed

since the establishment of a strong native empire by Tschandragupta. Seleucus crossed the Indus to fight him, but concluded a peace on favourable terms for the Indian prince. In return for a tribute of five hundred elephants he confirmed Tschandragupta in his former dominions, and a subsequent alliance by marriage established permanent friendly relations between both empires.

Seleucus had thus in a few years founded an empire and sufficiently strengthened his power to be able to interfere vigorously in the affairs of the West. Following the precedent of the other potentates, he placed the royal diadem on his head (306 B.C.). The advance of Demetrius Poliorcetes in Hellas, which has been related in another place (p. 134), and his pressure on Cassander induced the latter immediately to turn to Antigonus, in order to make his peace with him. Antigonus demanded complete submission, and thus unequivocally asserted his claims to the overlordship. Lysimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus, to whom Cassander communicated this answer, saw the common danger: all four kings concluded a new treaty of alliance and began the war against Antigonus. But only Lysimachus and Seleucus took active part in it. When the former marched across the Hellespont to Asia Minor, Seleucus went to join him with his army in Phrygia, and in conjunction with Lysimachus offered Antigonus battle at Ipsus (301 B.C.), where Antigonus was defeated and slain.

The allies divided the spoils among themselves. The chief share in it, as was fair, fell to the two actual conquerors: Lysimachus received northwestern Asia Minor (Caria, Lydia, Ioma, and Hellespontine Phrygia), Seleucus had Greater Phrygia and Syria. Ptolemy, who as a member of the alliance against Antigonus had invaded Syria, but had again evacuated the land on the false news of a victory and further advance of Antigonus, was forced to waive his claim on Syria, for the possession of which he had long striven. The expedition of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who had lost Macedonia, into Asia (286 B.C.) was without noteworthy influence on the affairs of Asia Minor, for he soon fell into the power of Seleucus and died a prisoner (282 B.C.). But once again Seleucus had to take the field. Lysimachus had caused his son and successor, Agathocles, to be killed on the malicious accusation of his wife, Arsinoe, and her brother, Ptolemy Ceraunus, who had fled from Egypt to Macedonia, because his younger brother had been appointed successor. Lysandra, widow of Agathocles, fled with her children to Seleucus in Syria, thither also resorted Ceraunus, who no longer felt himself secure in Macedonia, and another son of Lysimachus, by name Alexander. Seleucus received them all with friendly hospitality. This was the cause of the war which broke out in 281 B.C. between Lysimachus and Seleucus. They met at Corupedium. Lysimachus lost the battle and was killed, and Seleucus entered on his inheritance in Asia Minor and Europe.

Seleucus appointed his son Antiochus, who had for a long time administered the upper satrapies, regent of Asia, desiring himself to reside in Macedonia, in order to end his days in the land of his birth, while he intended Thrace for the children of the murdered Agathocles. He had already landed in Europe when the dagger of Ceraunus, the very man who had shortly before fled to him, beseeching help, struck the unsuspecting old king (281 B.C.). The murderer made himself master of Macedonia and Thrace.

In a long life Seleucus had, indeed, learnt the uncertainty of all things, but towards the end had enjoyed permanent prosperity and had attained greatness.

Shortly before he died the greater part of Alexander's empire was in his hands. But he was not merely a fortunate conqueror, who forced large tracts of land to his own rule, and might with justice style himself Nicator ("Conqueror"), but he resembled Alexander the Great in having done all that lay in his power to disseminate Hellenic culture, while he promoted trade and traffic in his own dominions and opened new sources of prosperity. He continued on a magnificent scale the policy of colonisation commenced by Alexander. The founding of seventy-five towns is ascribed to him, including Seleucia on the Tigris, which, rapidly flourishing, contained soon after the Christian era six hundred thousand inhabitants. Antioch on the Orontes, which flourished even in later antiquity; Seleucia Pieria, the port of Antioch, Seleucia on the Calycadnus in Cilicia; Laodicea on Lebanon, and Apamea on the Orontes. In the East also numerous towns were founded, as Hecatompylus and Europus in the vicinity of the Caspian gates on the great road from West to East. These towns were organised on a Greek model, had a senate and a popular assembly, were endowed with magnificent temples and shrines, and soon became centres of culture and growing prosperity.

When Seleucus I., Nicator, died, the empire established by him had attained its greatest expansion. The power of the Seleucidæ (the name usually given in honour of its creator and founder to the dynasty which, through Seleucus, became lords of these dominions) stretched then from the Bosphorus and the western coast of Asia Minor to the Indus and from Syria to the Jaxartes and Pamir. Those who wish to designate the empire of Seleucus no longer by the reigning dynasty, but by a geographical term, are accustomed to call it, in accordance with the true position and the real fulcrum of the power of its rulers, the Syrian empire; this designation is, indeed, less appropriate for the period of Seleucus and his immediate successors than for the later Seleucidæ.

But while the two other great empires which had arisen from the monarchy of Alexander after the wars of the Diadochi, namely, Egypt and Macedonia, composed either a completely separate geographical unity (Egypt) or, at least, an ethnographically united aggregate (Macedonia), the Syrian empire was a conglomeration of different countries, inhabited by the most heterogeneous nations. In this lay its weakness. Seleucus at first resided in Babylon, at about the centre of his empire. He afterwards removed his residence to Antioch on the Orontes, that is to say, almost to the western border. This shifting of the centre of gravity of the empire from its central point to the circumference was clearly due to the fact that Seleucus had entrusted his son Antiochus with the administration of the upper satrapies; but Antioch remained the capital even after his death. The choice of the royal residence was a very important matter for the empire, which, badly defined and devoid of natural coherence in all respects, as it was, found its ideal unity only in the person of its monarch. Although the Seleucidæ obviously did not renounce any claim on the Eastern satrapies by this arrangement, these became, in fact, far removed from the heart of the empire and withdrew more and more from the influence of the central authority.

The first successor of Seleucus was his son Antiochus, surnamed Soter, who even in his father's lifetime had administered as co-regent the countries lying east of the Euphrates. He had taken to wife Laodice, daughter of Demetrius

Poliorcetes. Laodice was originally married to his father, but had been voluntarily surrendered by the latter to the son, who was wasting away with love for her, an occurrence which soon became a fertile subject for the Greek writers of romances. He followed his father's example and nominated his two sons as co-regents; first the elder, Seleucus, and after his murder, the younger, Antiochus.

The history of the next two generations, which are taken up by the reigns of Antiochus I., Soter (281-261), Antiochus II., Theos (261-246), and Seleucus II., Callinicus (246-226), is marked by the relations of Syria to Egypt and by the wars which the Seleucidae had to wage with the neighbour state. The position of Syria as regards the states of Asia Minor was not less important. In addition, there was the defection of the countries on the Oxus and Jaxartes, for now began the subjugation of the important province of Parthia by the neighbouring inhabitants of the steppes and the formation of a new empire, the Parthian.

Complications with Egypt began directly after the death of Seleucus. The first question at issue was that of the possession of Phoenicia and Coele-Syria, countries to which Ptolemy Soter laid claim on the ground that he had conquered them in 318 B.C., had lost them through Antigonus, but had demanded them once more on the occasion of the last alliance of the kings against Antigonus as a prize of victory for his share in the war. Since, however, the battle at Ipsus had been fought without Ptolemy's assistance, Syria had been granted to Seleucus in the distribution. For this reason Ptolemy's son and successor, Ptolemy Philadelphus, soon after the death of Seleucus began the first Syrian War. We know little of its course. Philadelphus conquered Coele-Syria, the southern part of Syria, and by means of his fleet brought strips of the coast of Asia Minor under his rule, so that Egypt firmly established herself on the coasts of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Caria, and Ionia.

But besides the Lagidae, other foes to the Seleucidae had arisen in Asia Minor. In the northwestern corner, between the rivers Rhindacus and Parthenius, in the district watered by the lower Sangarius, lay Bithynia, which had been able under native princes to preserve its independence throughout the whole of the period of the Diadochi. Even the attempt made by Antiochus immediately after his accession to subdue Bithynia had failed. To the southwest of it, in the valley of the Caicus, lay Pergamus, a strong fortress, the commander of which, Philetærus, revolted from his new masters, the Seleucidae, after Lysimachus' death, and, being amply provided with funds, was able skilfully to lay the foundations of an important empire (cf. above, p. 62). In addition, the Galatians had come into Asia Minor as a new power. They had been invited in 277 B.C. by Nicomedes of Bithynia to come over from Thrace, and had remained here. They occupied the country on the upper Sangarius and middle Halys, and as far as political influence went greatly contributed to the disintegration of Asia Minor. Against them also Antiochus had to fight to protect his territory. It is recorded that he defeated the Galatians. This victory indisputably helped to confine them to the district called Galatia after them, but it did not effect their subjugation. Antiochus was still more unlucky in the war against Eumenes of Pergamus, in which he was defeated at Sardis (cf. p. 63). Soon afterwards he died (261 B.C.).

His son and successor, Antiochus II., surnamed Theos (261-246 B.C.), was

not in a position to alter the state of affairs in Asia Minor and to win back the districts torn from his kingdom. With Egypt he waged the Second Syrian War. We know nothing more of it than that its objects, the recovery of Cœle-Syria and the driving out the Egyptians from the coast of Asia Minor, were not realised. The *status quo* was recognised in the subsequent peace; and to seal and confirm it, Ptolemy Philadelphus gave his daughter Berenice to Antiochus in marriage. Antiochus' first wife, Laodice, who was disgraced and divorced for the sake of the Egyptian princess, in revenge poisoned her husband and instigated her eldest son, the new king, Seleucus II., surnamed Callinicus, to the murder of his stepmother. To avenge this crime, Ptolemy Euergetes, who in 246 B.C. had followed Philadelphus on the Egyptian throne, began the Third Syrian War. While Euergetes marched to Syria at the head of his troops his fleet sailed from Cyprus to Cilicia, where many Seleucid officials, as well as many Cilician towns, voluntarily joined the Egyptians; the officials, devoted to their old lord, had to fly, and the towns who favoured him were besieged. The fleet then sailed for North Syria. Seleucia, the important coast town, and later Antiocheia, the capital, which lies a short distance from it, were occupied. Euergetes himself crossed the Euphrates with an army, made himself master of the upper satrapies, and brought back the treasures and reliques which the Persians had in earlier times carried off from the Egyptians. In spite of such astounding successes, the Egyptian king suddenly concluded peace, because, it was said, uproar and revolt in his own country summoned him back. Seleucia and the Cilician coast remained in the Egyptian power: with this exception, Ptolemy abandoned all the conquered provinces.

The reign of Seleucus II was extremely stormy and disturbed; but the records are very fragmentary, and the isolated facts that have been handed down lack internal coherence. His brother Antiochus, surnamed Hierax, disputed with him the dominion over Asia Minor (cf. above, p. 63 *et seq.*) and rose against him, relying on the independent states of the Bithynians, Cappadocians, and Galatians. But in the war of the two brothers against each other and in that with Attalus, prince of Pergamus, who conquered and routed Hierax, the country as far as the Taurus was lost to the Seleucidæ. Hierax was murdered in his flight by robbers (circa 227 B.C.).

Even in the East the dominion of the Seleucidæ fared badly. In the time of Antiochus Theos, the Bactrian governor, Diodotus, had revolted. He proclaimed himself King of Bactria, and was recognised in Sogdiana and Margiana (250 B.C.). About the same time the brothers Arsaces and Tiridates, chiefs of the nomadic tribe of the Parthi, whose pasturing-grounds were on Bactrian territory, had moved further West and had occupied the Seleucid territory of Astabene. Arsaces was immediately proclaimed king there. Thence they invaded Parthia and, after defeating the governor, made themselves masters of the country. The attempt of Seleucus Callinicus to expel Arsaces failed, and the Parthian empire of the Arsacidæ became established more firmly (it only disappeared in 226 A.D., after a duration of 480 years).

When Callinicus died (226 B.C.), the Seleucid empire comprised only northern Syria (without the important seaport Seleucia Pieria), Cilicia, with the exception of the coast, and the land eastward from the Euphrates as far as Media, Susiana, and Persia. Asia Minor this side of the Taurus and all the land

east of Media was in the hands of the enemy. Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, for which battles had so often been fought, belonged, now, as formerly, to the Egyptians.

Seleucus III., surnamed Soter, eldest son of Callinicus, reigned only a short time (226-223 B.C.). He was assassinated while on a campaign over the Taurus against Attalus of Pergamus. He was followed by his brother, Antiochus III (223-187 B.C.), aged twenty, to whom the surname Megas, or the Great, has been given. At first he was a pliant tool in the hand of his first minister, Hermeas, an intriguing Carian. The settlement of affairs in Asia Minor, where after 227, as we have seen, Attalus had extended his territory up to the Taurus, and, above all, the war with Pergamus was entrusted by him to his cousin, Achæus. He himself planned a war against Egypt, in order to bring once for all under his power the long-disputed Cœle-Syria. And in this plan he still held firmly to the counsel of Hermeas, when in 222 B.C. news was brought him of the revolt of the Median satrap, Molon, and his brother, Alexander, who governed Persia. There was, it is true, no lack of voices among the companions of the king advising him to march in person against Molon, but they were disregarded. Antiochus himself only marched out when Molon had conquered several of his generals, placed the diadem on his head, and, starting from Apolloniatis after the capture of Seleucia on the Tigris, had actually taken Babylonia. In 220 B.C. Antiochus crossed the Tigris and pushed into Apolloniatis, in order to cut off his enemy's retreat into Media. A battle was fought, Molon was defeated, and died by his own hand. As a warning example his corpse was crucified and displayed on the highest point of the Zagrus Mountains, over which the road from the West into Media led. Antiochus settled affairs with leniency and moderation. Seleucia alone was severely punished. He then invaded Atropatene. Here the prince, Artabazanes, who had taken Molon's side, was terrified by the sudden invasion, and made a treaty favourable to Antiochus. Hermeas, the powerful minister, was murdered at the instigation of some friends of Antiochus.

Antiochus on his return to Syria began extensive preparations for the Egyptian War. The campaign of the year 219 B.C. opened favourably. Seleucia Pieria, the port of Antioch, which had been Egyptian since Ptolemy Euergetes, was taken. The Egyptian governor of Cœle-Syria, Theodotus, an Etolian, went over to Antiochus and delivered up the seaports of Ptolemais and Tyre. Other towns also surrendered to him. But what was universally expected did not happen. Instead of attacking Egypt, which was ill-prepared for war, the king marched back from the Phœnician coast to Seleucia. Now began negotiations by Ptolemy's ministers, Agathocles and Sosibius, while they were busily arming; and in the winter of 219-218 the conclusion of a four months' truce was actually obtained. In the summer of 218 Antiochus was again in Cœle-Syria, and defeated the Egyptians; but when Ptolemy in 217, after mighty preparations, took the field in person, he was beaten at Raphia on the borders of Syria and Egypt and was forced to relinquish the conquered districts. Ptolemy made no further use of his victory.

Meantime, in Asia Minor, Achæus had, it is true, again forced the Pergamenes back, but had revolted from Antiochus and had been proclaimed king. Antiochus took up the war with Achæus. In 216 he marched over the Taurus, and in a number of successful engagements forced the enemy back to Sardis.

After a siege of two years he took the town by a strategem. The citadel, where Achæus was, still held out until a Cretan delivered Achæus into the hands of Antiochus, who caused him to be executed. In this way all the portion of Asia Minor which Attalus had taken away from the Seleucidæ, was won back.

There now followed a series of successful operations. In 209 B.C. Antiochus undertook a campaign of several years' duration in the East. He first invaded the territory of the Parthians, where the Arsacid dynasty was compelled to recognise the supremacy of Syria. He then marched to Bactria: Euthydemus encountered him on the Areius, but had to retreat after a gallant fight. Bactria, the capital was besieged; and Euthydemus, reduced to great straits, threatened to call the nomads into the country and to give up Greek civilisation to their mercy. The Seleucid, whose house had disseminated Greek culture everywhere, did not refuse to listen to such arguments. On the conclusion of peace Euthydemus was confirmed in his royal title, and Antiochus' daughter was betrothed to his son Demetrius, in return for which the Bactrian war elephants had to be given over and the Syrian army supported. The parties then concluded an offensive and defensive alliance (206 B.C.). Antiochus now went over the Hindu-Kusch into the valley of Cabul and renewed with the Indian king, ^{श्री राजा} the friendship which Seleucus Nicator had formed with Tschandragupta. Subhagashéna also gave him elephants and furnished his army with provisions. He commenced his return through Arachosia and Drangiana and wintered in Carmania. From there he made a digression towards the opposite Arabian coast to the rich trading nation of the Gerrhæi. In return for confirming their independence he was presented with 500 talents of silver, 1000 talents of incense, and 200 talents of myrrh-oil. Thence the king returned to Seleucia. This campaign brought the Seleucid name once more into honour in the East and won for the king among his contemporaries the surname of "the Great."

In the meanwhile, the young Ptolemy Epiphanes had come to the throne in Egypt (205 B.C.). The kings Antiochus of Syria and Philip of Macedonia concluded, therefore, a treaty with the avowed object of seizing the Egyptian possessions and of dividing them among themselves. Philip crossed into Asia Minor, but was there entangled in a war with Pergamus, Rhodes, and lastly with Rome herself. Antiochus sought to realise his former intentions against Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia. The diplomatic interference of Rome in favour of her ward, Epiphanes, was not able to check the king in his successfully commenced project of subjugating Cœle-Syria; and it was completed by the defeat of the Egyptians under Scopas on Mount Paneum near the sources of the Jordan (198 B.C.). Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia thus became once more Syrian. As Antiochus wished to have a free hand for Asia Minor and Europe, he concluded peace with Egypt and sealed it by the betrothal of his daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy Epiphanes. His ally, Philip, had been compelled to relinquish the conquest of Asia Minor. The war with Rome took a course unfavourable for Philip. Vigorous support by Antiochus would have, perhaps, given another aspect to affairs, but the Seleucid clearly did not contemplate that. As Philip had retired from Asia Minor, he considered it a favourable opportunity to reconquer there what had once belonged to his forefathers. In 197 B.C. he began the campaign of conquest in Asia Minor with a strong army and a fleet. In the peace Philip had ceded to Rome the towns taken by him in Asia Minor, and

Rome had left them free. This incensed Antiochus, but did not disturb him in the execution of his plans. In 196 he crossed over to Europe, occupied the Chersonese, rebuilt Lysimacha, made this town his arsenal, and set about the conquest of Thrace, as if all belonged to him, which his great ancestor, Nicator, would have ruled if he had not been suddenly murdered.

At Lysimacha a Roman embassy asked him to leave the Greek towns of Thrace and Asia free, and not to rob the king of Egypt. To this he answered that he was availing himself of his right in what he was doing, and that the Egyptian king did not complain of him. On the contrary, he was his ally, and would soon be connected with him by the closest bonds of relationship. Strained relations with Rome were thus produced, and these were intensified when Antiochus hospitably received Hannibal, Rome's greatest foe. But Hannibal's plans to attack Rome in Italy itself found no approval, and were not carried out. After further diplomatic negotiations, war with Rome finally broke out, when Antiochus at the instigation of the Etolians crossed to Greece (192 B.C.) and now began to subdue Hellenic towns and provinces. But to meet Rome on the field of battle, Antiochus had absolutely insufficient forces: he had landed with ten thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry. He attempted to bar the advance of the Roman army at Thermopylæ, but was eluded and defeated. With few followers he fled to Asia Minor (191 B.C.). The Syrian fleet also had been defeated at sea: first in 191 by C. Livius at Corycus (between Chios and Ephesus), then in 190 by Emilius at Myonnesus. The king's consternation at this reverse was so great that he evacuated Lysimacha, his fortified and important arsenal on the Thracian coast, and thus left the road to the Hellespont free to Cornelius Scipio, the Roman general, who was advancing by the land route, and rendered his crossing possible. The decisive battle took place at Magnesia on Mount Sipylus: Antiochus was completely defeated (190 B.C.). By the terms of the peace he had to cede Asia Minor as far as the Taurus, to surrender his elephants and his fleet, except ten ships, and to pay a war indemnity of 15,000 Euboic talents (£4,800,000), of which 3000 were to be paid at once and 12,000 in the course of the next twelve years. The effect of this disaster was apparent elsewhere: both satraps of Armenia revolted and founded independent kingdoms: Artaxias in the North (valley of the Araxes) with Artaxata, and Zariadres in the South (Sophene on the Tigris). Soon afterwards Antiochus was killed by the Elymaei on an expedition to the East, where he wished to plunder the temple of Belus, in order to fill his empty coffers (187 B.C.).

B. THE DISRUPTION AND FALL OF THE EMPIRE (FROM SELEUCUS IV., SURNAMED PHILOPATOR, TO ANTIOCHUS XIII.)

ANTIOCHUS was succeeded by his sons, Seleucus IV., surnamed Philopator (187-175 B.C.), and Antiochus IV., surnamed Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.). Seleucus, who reigned in difficult circumstances and had to struggle with the financial distress caused by the payments to Rome, was murdered by his minister, Heliodorus. The latter attempted to usurp the throne, but could not hold it. Antiochus came to the throne, supported by Pergamus. Demetrius, son of the murdered Seleucus, the infant heir to the crown, lived as a hostage at Rome, whither

he had been sent by his father in place of Antiochus shortly before the latter's death. Antiochus IV. Epiphanes was immediately entangled in a war with Egypt, of the causes of which we have no exact information. His sister Cleopatra had married Ptolemy Epiphanes (193 B.C.) and had received as a bridal gift the assignment of the taxes from several towns in Cœle-Syria. In 181 Epiphanes of Egypt was murdered, and Cleopatra, who had undertaken the guardianship of Ptolemy Philometor, died in 173; and disputes arose over the dowry of Cleopatra. The Egyptians claimed the aforesaid towns, from which money had flowed into the coffers of Cleopatra, and demanded the continuance of the payments even after the death of the queen: Antiochus did not concede that, since the Syrian claim of supremacy had never been relinquished there. In short, war resulted. A victory at Pelusium delivered this important town into the hands of Antiochus and made his road to Egypt open. The king, Ptolemy Philometor, fell into the power of the enemy, and at the wish of the people his brother Physcon undertook the government in Egypt. Epiphanes was repulsed, but kept Pelusium. Philometor having regained his freedom, came to an agreement with his brother. Epiphanes now attacked Egypt afresh and besieged Alexandria.

C. Popillius Laenas appeared in the camp of the king there with an order from the Roman senate, in which Antiochus was summoned to leave Egypt at once. When Antiochus asked time for reflection, Laenas drew a circle with his stick in the sand round the king and said, "Before thou steppest out of this circle, tell me what report I shall take to the senate." The king declared himself ready to fulfil the wishes of the senate. He marched out of Egypt and gave up Pelusium, but kept Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia (168 B.C.). The peremptory command of Rome had been enough to destroy Epiphanes' prospect of conquering Egypt. Not strong enough to wage a war with Rome, and enlightened by the calamitous issue of his father's struggle, he was compelled to recognise the foreign power and submit himself to it: in the course of a generation, then, Syria had sunk from the position of a world power which it held under Antiochus III. Henceforward it never attained a similar place in the political system of the world. The influence of Rome now was prominent in many ways even in the internal affairs of Syria.

We have just related that Armenia and Sophene had formed themselves into independent kingdoms under their own monarchs. The next campaign of Epiphanes was directed against Armenia (166 B.C.). He penetrated far into the land, took King Artaxias prisoner, but replaced him in his kingdom, just as once his father, notwithstanding successful campaigns, had in the end recognised the Kings of Parthia and Bactria. Armenia must certainly at this time have recognised the supremacy of Syria, but it did not again become a Syrian province. From Armenia, Epiphanes turned to the Persian Gulf, where he rebuilt a town founded by Alexander at the mouth of the Tigris, which had fallen to ruins, and called it Antioch. Alexander had formerly restored the Babylonian canal system here, by means of which the devastating effects of the floods of the Tigris and Eulæus were obviated and excellent means provided for the sufficient irrigation of the land. Epiphanes did the same when he found everything neglected and ruined. The new Antioch at the mouth of the Tigris having been again destroyed by the floods, was rebuilt afresh by the satrap, Hyspaosines, secured by strong dams, and called Charax. It soon afterwards became a

flourishing commercial town and capital of a small kingdom. On the way to Persia to suppress a revolt, Antiochus IV. Epiphanes died at Tabæ (164 B.C.) of consumption. When he rebuilt Antioch and restored the canal system of Babylonia, Epiphanes followed the good old tradition of his house, to pay attention to the promotion and dissemination of civilisation; and he was impelled by the same thoughts, and was equally desirous of securing the victory of Hellenic culture and of his own belief in the Olympian Zeus as opposed to the system of the East, when he interfered in the affairs of the Jews. This attack has brought hatred and contempt on him in no scant measure. In modern times an impartial and fairer judgment of his policy has at length taken the place of that condemnation. But the narrative of the events themselves, the measures of Epiphanes in Jerusalem, as well as the consequent rising of the Jews under the Maccabees, will appear in a more proper place later (Vol. III.).

After the short reign of Antiochus V. Eupator (164-162), Demetrius I. Soter came to the throne (162-150 B.C.), the son of Seleucus IV., who was living in Rome as a hostage when his father was murdered and his uncle, Epiphanes, became king. From the outset he had to contend with the hatred of Rome. Timarchus, satrap of Media, renewed the attempt of Molon, revolted from Demetrius, and with the consent of the Roman senate assumed the diadem. In alliance with Artaxias of Armenia he soon subdued the neighbouring lands and became master of Babylonia. But when Demetrius took the field against him, he was defeated and slain (160 B.C.). Thus Media and Babylonia were again saved; and the grateful Babylonians, who hated Timarchus, gave to Demetrius the splendid and honourable title of Soter, "the Saviour."

But Rome created fresh difficulties for him and effected an alliance of the neighbouring countries against him, in accordance with which a certain Alexander Balas, who was given out to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes and set up as a rival king, invaded Syria. Demetrius fell in the war against him (150 B.C.). The new king, who styled himself Alexander Theopator Euergetes, was totally incapable. Ptolemy Philometor of Egypt, who had joined in supporting him, now put forward Demetrius, son of Demetrius I., against him. After long struggles, in which Alexander was worsted, Demetrius II. became king (145 B.C.). But against him also a certain Diodotus rose as a rival under the name of Tryphon, and succeeded in driving Demetrius out of the greater part of Syria. The effect of these calamitous civil wars was soon apparent. The rich and fertile provinces of Media and Babylonia, which had just been won back by Demetrius I., were now lost and passed into the power of the Parthians. Seleucia on the Tigris, the proud creation of the first Seleucidæ, was taken by the Parthians. The inhabitants of these districts, which had hailed Demetrius I. as saviour when he liberated them from the yoke of Timarchus, did, indeed, call in his son, but Demetrius II. was defeated by the Parthians and taken prisoner (138 B.C.).

His brother, Antiochus VII. Sidetes, who took his place in Syria, succeeded in ending the civil dissensions, after removing Tryphon, and in re-establishing the royal power. In 130 B.C. he undertook a campaign against the Parthians. The latter, being defeated on the Lycus, now released his brother Demetrius from captivity, probably in the hope that he would begin afresh the civil war and thus draw off Antiochus from Parthia. But before that happened the

Parthians once more confronted Antiochus, and this time he was defeated and slain (129 B.C.). Henceforth the dominion of the Seleucidæ was limited to the countries west of the Euphrates. When Demetrius, after nine years of captivity among the Parthians, returned to his home, he found his land in mourning for the death of Antiochus and the loss of his army. Nevertheless, he began a war immediately with Egypt, just as if his own and his brother's campaign against the Parthians had had a glorious ending. The Syrian towns, especially the capital, Antioch, and Apamea, revolted; and Ptolemy of Egypt set up against him in Syria the son of a merchant, who received the name of Alexander and was passed off for an adopted son of the fallen Antiochus. Alexander, who, apart from this, found a great advantage in the strong aversion of the Syrian towns for Demetrius, knew how to use adroitly the arrival of Antiochus' corpse. His eagerness for an appropriate and honourable burial of the body, as well as the mourning robes he displayed and the tears he copiously shed, won for him the hearts of the inhabitants. He succeeded in defeating Demetrius, although the latter was amply supplied with means by his mother-in-law, Cleopatra, who had fled to him from Egypt. After his defeat, Demetrius went to Tyre and was killed there as he disembarked from his ship (125 B.C.).

Demetrius II. had two sons by his marriage with Cleopatra. Of these, Seleucus was killed by his own mother soon after the father's death, because he had assumed the diadem without her consent: the other, however, mounted the throne. A disturbed reign was the lot of Antiochus VIII. Grypus ("Long Nose"), as it had been that of his father. The rival king, Alexander (Zabinas), rendered presumptuous by success, thought that he could dispense with his patron, Ptolemy of Egypt, and exercise his dominion independently of him. This led to a breach between Ptolemy and Alexander and to closer relations between the Egyptian and Grypus, in consequence of which the latter received not only ample assistance from Egypt, but also the hand of the Egyptian princess, Tryphaena. This open help from Egypt brought many Syrian towns to the side of Grypus, who thus, being supported on all sides, could confront his rival. Alexander was worsted in the battle. a fugitive and without funds, he arrived at Antioch and there robbed the temple of Zeus, first of the golden statue of Niké and then of the figure of Zeus himself, likewise in gold. By so doing he stirred up the people so much against him that he had to fly. Seized by robbers, he was brought to Grypus and killed.

Thus Grypus was lord and ruler of his father's realm. The intention of his detestable mother, Cleopatra, who wished now to kill Grypus, in order to reign alone, was frustrated. The son compelled his mother herself to drain the cup of poison presented to him. Grypus did not long enjoy the sole rule. His stepbrother, Antiochus IX. Cyzicenus, opposed him. The war between the brothers led eventually to a partition of the realm. Grypus obtained Syria proper and Cilicia, Cyzicenus had Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia. In the year 96 B.C. Grypus was murdered. His son, Seleucus VI., repulsed, indeed, the attack of Cyzicenus, but had to fight with his four brothers. In Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, after the death of Cyzicenus, his son, Antiochus X. Eusebes, "the Pious," reigned. He married — an event which throws light on the morality of family relations at that time — his own mother, Cleopatra Selene, who had been the

wife of Grypus, then of Cyzicenus, after having been previously wedded to Ptolemy Lathyrus of Egypt.

A greatly diminished empire, torn by fraternal wars and civil dissension, divided between two lines of princes and a royal house, whose history teemed with murder and horrors of every kind — that is the unedifying picture of the conditions of the Seleucid dynasty about 100 B.C. There was no longer any thought of accomplishing the great task pointed out by Seleucus, that of making the powerful empire into a state which should spread the blessings of civilisation and should find its most honourable work in the dissemination of Hellenism. Antiochus III. had ultimately given back to the empire for a brief moment the position which it had held under the first Seleucidæ, although none of the successors had ruled an empire as wide as that which Seleucus had bequeathed to them. Antiochus Epiphanes and Antiochus Sidetes strove earnestly to re-establish the former power, but all that they created or founded soon fell to pieces again. Under their successors the empire was abandoned to the influence of the neighbouring powers. The intervention of Rome or Egypt in Syrian affairs proved too often fateful and calamitous to the house of the Seleucidæ.

In this helpless condition of the empire King Tigranes of Armenia (see Fig 4 of plate facing p. 134) was able to conquer first Syria proper (83 B.C.) and then the greater part of Phœnicia with Ptolemais (74 B.C.). The Roman, Lucullus, prepared the death blow to his supremacy in these regions. The new king, Antiochus XIII., the son of Antiochus Eusebes and of the repeatedly married Cleopatra Selene, was soon murdered. Shortly after, in the year 64 B.C., Pompey, who had conquered Mithradates of Pontus, appeared in Syria and put an end to the Seleucid rule. Henceforth Syria is a Roman province. The land ceases to have any history of its own. Its destinies depend on Rome. Roman legions compose the garrisons and guard the frontiers towards the East. Syria flourished under the strong arm of the Roman emperors. the towns and communities created by the Seleucidæ prospered, as did the old towns on the Phœnician coast, and became seats of vigorous and extensive manufacturing activity and of busy trade. Rome carefully continued all that the Seleucidæ had accomplished by the extension of Hellenic culture. Districts were then prosperous and thickly inhabited where nothing remains to-day, except ruins in a dismal, deserted country. The rule over the land passed from the Romans to the Byzantines, and from them to the Arabs (cf. Vols. III. and V.).

C. THE GRÆCO-BACTRIAN EMPIRE

(a) *Physical Characteristics and Earliest History of Bactria.*—North of the Hindu-Kusch, west of the Pamirs, and east of Iran there stretches, towards the Caspian Sea and the Sea of Aral a wide region, which in its southern and western parts is crossed by mountain ranges, but otherwise consists of steppes and deserts, broken only by large, fertile oases. Two streams, the Oxus (Amu-darja) and the Jaxartes (Sir-darja), flow through this region. In antiquity the country on the upper course of the Oxus was called Bactria, on which Sogdiana bordered in the direction of the Jaxartes, towards the north, while the country on the lower courses of these two rivers, which stretched to the Caspian and the Sea of Aral, was usually called Chorasmia.

As this desert in the North is connected with the South Russian steppe, we find in old times here, as in Russia, among the inhabitants, nations of the Iranic stock, which are usually comprised under the general name of Scythians (cf. above, p. 73). The different nature of these wide regions produced a different method of life among these Iranic nations. While the inhabitants of the highlands and the great fertile and well-watered oases, which are scattered over the desert, were settled and were occupied in agriculture, the raising of vegetables, and cattle-breeding, the nomadic Scythians, like the Turcomans of to-day, roamed over the deserts with their herds and all their belongings, continually looking for new and fresh pastures, but always inclined to make predatory attacks on the permanent settlements. A natural contrast was thus formed between the nomads, on the one hand, and the settled inhabitants of the fruitful oases and of the highlands, on the other, and, therefore, there existed among the latter, who had always to be ready to repel the attacks of the nomads, a military nobility capable of bearing arms, from whose midst, as in Bactria and elsewhere, arose the hereditary princely and kingly power. These military nobles were at the same time landowners, since the mass of the peasants were dependent on them.

The Bactrian kingdom, the rulers of which are said to have fought for many centuries against the Turanians (i.e. against the nomads) and to have won great victories, was of immense antiquity. But the kings in the accounts handed down are mere mythical figures. The wars against the Turanians are taken from the legends of the War of the Gods of Light against the Demons, and similarly the wars have given rise to legends about the gods. For this reason it is, unfortunately, impossible to write a history of the more ancient period.

(b) *Bactria under Hellenistic Influence.*—The Bactrian kings ended when Cyrus on his great expedition to the East subdued Bactria and gave the administration of the land to his brother, Bardija. Under Darius Hysdaspes, Bactria belonged to the twelfth Persian circuit for purposes of taxation, and paid annually 360 talents. The Chorasmians, who were also subjugated by Cyrus and Sogdians, belonged to the sixteenth circuit and contributed 300 talents.

The supremacy of Persia over the Iranic East was maintained until Alexander the Great, as heir of the Persian empire, which had been destroyed by him, subdued Bactria and Sogdiana. The wars fought by him here have been already related (cf. above, p. 122 *et seqq.*). Alexander endeavoured, by founding towns, eight of which are mentioned here (among them Alexandria Eschate on the Jaxartes, cf. above, p. 124), to ensure the obedience of the conquered country and to win it over to Greek civilisation. He settled Macedonian and Greek soldiers here; and these, doubtless, were joined soon by merchants and enterprising persons of all sorts, since the country, through which of old the wares of India were brought to the Black Sea, promised rich profits. Now, when India also was open, and the Punjab, at least, was attached to Alexander's empire, trade and traffic would necessarily take new life and receive a great encouragement; to enterprising spirits — and of these there never was a lack in Greece and Asia Minor — splendid prospects of gain were presented.

On the tidings of Alexander's death, the Greeks settled by him in the military colonies (twenty thousand foot-soldiers and three thousand horsemen) marched

out, wishing to force their way to their old home; but, at the orders of the regent, Perdiccas, Pithon, governor of Media, went against them, defeated them through the treachery of one of their leaders, and his victorious troops put them and their generals to the sword, in order to seize their property. Notwithstanding this, the Macedonian supremacy remained unshaken here. In the distribution of satrapies at Triparadisus, Stasanor, from Soli in Cyprus, received Bactria and Sogdiana.

When Seleucus became governor of Babylonia and founded round it a great empire for himself, Bactria and Sogdiana formed part of the empire. The first Seleucidæ spared no precautions to secure these Eastern dominions. Alexandria Eschate was strengthened, and a new town, Antioch, founded in the same district. The fertile oasis, Margiana, was surrounded in its complete extent with a wall, and by this means protected from the raids of the nomads. An abandoned town on the river Margus was also restored. The circumference of the new city, Antioch, measured seventy stadia.

These countries remained provinces of the Seleucid empire until in the year 250 B.C. the governor, Diodotus, revolted and caused himself to be proclaimed king. Margiana and Sogdiana belonged from the first to the new kingdom. The times had been peculiarly favourable for the revolt. The successors of Seleucus Nicator had been so occupied in Asia Minor and by the wars with Egypt that their attention had been completely diverted from the far East. Besides that, Antiochus Theos, under whom Diodotus made himself King of Bactria, was a weak man and, it is said, addicted to drink. Then came the time of the war between the brothers, Seleucus Callinicus and Antiochus Hierax, and the hard struggles of the former with Ptolemy Euergetes: Callinicus did not once succeed in wresting Parthia back from the Arsacidæ. The Bactrian empire was able, in the meanwhile, to strengthen itself. The treaty that Diodotus II., the son and successor of the first king, made with Tiridates of Parthia against Callinicus, shows that both rulers recognised their common danger. Diodotus might enjoy his possession undisturbed so long as the Parthian empire lay between him and his former masters.

But the dynasty of Diodotus was soon dethroned by a Greek from Magnesia in Asia Minor, named Euthydemus. When Antiochus III. had brought the Parthians at least to recognise the Seleucid supremacy, and marched against Bactria (208 B.C.), Euthydemus ruled there. We have already related (p. 154) that this campaign ended with the recognition of Euthydemus as king, and with the betrothal of his son Demetrius to a Seleucid princess. Euthydemus, hard pressed by Antiochus and finally besieged in Bactria, had made a deep impression on the Seleucid by the threat of calling the nomads into the country and giving up Hellenic civilisation to their mercy. And to keep in check these very Scythians (as all these Iranic nomads were comprehensively called), to protect civilisation from them, and to secure the trade from India to the Black Sea from their attacks, formed the chief duty of the Bactrian empire. The threat of Euthydemus shows, on the one side, that he was aware of this duty; on the other side, the discontinuance by Antiochus of the siege and his recognition of the Bactrian empire proves that he, as his forefathers, fully admitted his obligations towards civilisation. Both parted as friends, united in an offensive and defensive alliance.

The same Demetrius, to whom Antiochus III. had betrothed his daughter while his father still lived, crossed the Hindu-Kusch and extended the Bactrian rule as far as the Indus and the Punjaub. Alexander had conquered these districts and incorporated them into his empire; after his death the Indian prince, Tschandragupta, had founded a kingdom in the Ganges Valley, and by successful campaigns and wars had expanded it over the Indus as far as the Parapanisus. Thus the valley of Cabul and the Punjaub, which Alexander had once possessed, were won back to Hellenism. The old town of Sangala, henceforth called Euthydemea, was made the capital of the Indian possessions. About the same time Arachosia (where the city of Demetrias, so called after Demetrius, was founded), and probably also Aria and Drangiana were made subject to the Bactrian supremacy. This is the period of Bactria's greatest power. Demetrius succeeded his father, Euthydemus, in the government, but was fated to see Eucratidas successfully contest with him the rule. Eucratidas also fought against the tribes inhabiting Aria, Drangiana, Sogdiana, and Arachosia. We have no details about these internal wars, but only hear that the Parthians, under Mithradates, at this time became masters of Aria (the country round the present Herat), and that Eucratidas on his return from India, which he had conquered in the war against Demetrius, was murdered by his son.

But in addition to him there were other kings. The civil war had thus had ruinous consequences. Numerous royal names have been handed down to us on the coins, and the empire was clearly broken up into separate portions, the respective kings of which were at war with each other. But however little we are able to give with certainty the order of succession among the recorded kings, or the period of their reign, or the country where this or that king ruled, still it is very certain that this empire, weakened by intestine wars and manifold divisions, must have continually become more alienated from its chief task, namely, that of keeping the barbarians far from its frontiers and in protecting civilisation and culture from them. At any rate, these conditions greatly simplified the conquest of Bactria by the barbarians.

When about 140 B.C. the Yue-tshi, nomads akin to the Thibetans, driven by the Turkish people of the Hiungnu from their abodes, appeared on the Bactrian frontiers, in order to seek new homes for themselves there, they found no opposition. The land as far as the Oxus fell to them. This sealed the fate of Greek culture north of the Hindu-Kusch. South of the Hindu-Kusch the Greeks maintained themselves a century longer. Among the numerous kings, handed down to us on coins, who seem to belong to this era and this country, only Menander is known from other sources also. He extended his dominion over the Punjaub up to the middle course of the Ganges, but ruled also up to the mouth of the Indus and east of it in Syrastene (the present Gujarati). He is said to have been a Buddhist, and was renowned for his justice. This Greek dominion in India was ended by Kieu-tsieu-Kio (Cadphises in the Greek legend on the coins), the prince of Kuschang, one of the five tribes into which the Yue-tshi were broken up. After he had united all these nomads into one aggregate, he conquered Cabul and Cophene south of the Hindu-Kusch. His son, Cadaphes, added India. This Scytho-Indian empire lasted to the end of the fourth century A.D.

III

THE RISE OF CHRISTIANITY AND ITS SPREAD IN THE EAST

By PROF. WILHELM WALThER

1. THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY

A. THE ENTRANCE OF CHRISTIANITY INTO THE WORLD

“**L**AND and sea enjoy tranquillity, and cities flourish in concord and peace.” This was the boast of the famous inscription in honour of the Emperor Augustus in whose reign He was born who was destined mightily to convulse not only the whole Roman world-empire, but the nations beyond its borders, and in the succession of centuries to stir new countries into commotion. “I am the light of the world. Go hence into the whole world and make all nations my disciples!” This unexampled declaration and command, which Jesus gave his followers, had destroyed that “concord.”

How about the religious “peace” when Jesus declared, “I am not come to bring peace, but the sword. For I am come to excite men”?

An almost incalculable number of religions and cults were observed in the Roman empire. But, united under one emperor, the originally heterogeneous nations underwent a continuous process of blending. Before this, nationality and religion had stood and fallen together. As a member of this or that nation a man worshipped this or that god, for through religion people had sought some sympathy of the divinity with the fortunes of the nation. Thus the disintegration of nationalities was bound to lead to a disintegration of popular religions. The greater the increase in the number of cults flourishing in one and the same city, the more feebly must they flourish. At the same time the enlightenment which dawned in Greece spread victoriously everywhere. Educated men, at any rate, learnt to ridicule the old stories of the gods. Philosophical systems took with them the place of this religion; and as one contradicted the other, they could not bring absolute conviction, but steadily and completely undermined the ancient belief.

And yet “sooner may a town exist without houses and soil than a state without belief in the gods. This is the bond of the community, the pillar of all legislation.” (Plutarch.) But if the state cannot dispense with religion, then it is the duty of every member of the state to adhere to it. But how could it be possible to unite in one cult all men imbued with such different religious conceptions and, in addition, those that in reality despise all religion? Well, there

is one power which can and must be sacred to all who enjoy the benefits of the state, namely, the state, personified in its supreme head, the emperor. Precisely because reverence for the heavenly powers vanishes, we find the highest power ascribed to the emperor. Thus the state religion becomes more and more a Caesar cult, either because people submit to the cult which the Cæsar demands as *Pontifex Maximus*, or because divine honours are paid to the Cæsar himself. Boundless was the licentiousness into which many of these emperors let themselves be swept, from the thought that their power was divine and absolutely unlimited. Even the total violation of the sentiment of "natural abhorrence," innate in mankind in regard to sexual relations, attracted them, in order to show that all is allowed them. Yet the considerations of the state required this cult. Men follow the fashion and laugh in their sleeves.

The religious craving is not satisfied with such a thoroughly unreal practice of religion. Men seek, therefore, novelty. To-day, they try this cult; to-morrow, that philosophy. They mix together the various ideas, and would gladly strip away the rotting shells and keep the sound kernels. Thus from the surging chaos the germs of new ideas sometimes force their way upwards. Nothing in all this is clearly defined and strong enough to render it impossible for men to practise a state religion in which they have no faith. There are only vague tendencies, yet tendencies towards something really new. We observe, on the one hand, the effort to comprehend the manifold and the seemingly contradictory in one single principle. In many cases the place of polytheism is taken by a sort of monotheism, the conviction that there is one divine Being over all gods, one original Being ruling everything. There appears, likewise, an inkling of the fact that among the distinctions between nations, ranks, and individuals, the equality of mankind cannot be overlooked; that there is a "human race;" that man has an importance as man, and can claim sympathy from man. On the other side rises individualism. The individual wishes to be a distinct being, not merely a part of a larger aggregate. The welfare of the state is no longer to be the only and all-decisive consideration. The individual wishes to have happiness and peace in himself. Some seek it in knowledge, others in pleasure, others in self-denial. For disappointments they knew, indeed, no better consolation than *patet exitus* — the exit from this life is open to us. But the right of the individual to inner contentment is dimly felt. If it is not found in this life, the looks are then turned towards the future life. To the ancients the present was the land of light and joy, the state after death a joyless world of shadows. Now, the case is reversed; men speak of the limitations and the worthlessness of all earthly things and await in the other world peace, freedom, and happiness. Indeed, who shall say whether it be true that "great souls are not extinguished with the body?" But hope ever flickers up anew. And the question arises, Who will reach the presence of the blest? The consciousness is awakened of a divine prohibition and of man's guilt before God. A quite new complaint sounds. "The human spirit is by nature refractory, and strives after the forbidden. Our defects are not out of us, but in us and rooted in our inmost being." (Seneca.) Man stood in need of purification from sins.

No wonder that so many persons at that time sought satisfaction for their religious wants in that nation which considered most of these beliefs revealed by God Himself. The Jewish people, distributed throughout the Roman empire,

spoke of one God, who governed heaven and earth; spoke of a divine law, of the sin of mankind, of reconciliation with God, of a life after death. But would this monotheism ever be able to become a world-religion? Did it not feel itself incapable of this? To prevent its being covered up by the shifting sands of paganism it had been made the religion of a single people, fenced off from the rest of the world by a high wall of laws and ceremonies. Could it, if freed from these barriers and thrown into the raging sea of heathen conceptions, display such invincible tenacity that no contradiction, no dispute, could destroy it? Would it be ready to cast aside its national restrictions? Would any power be able morally to force its representatives, who now boast that *they* are the people of God, but that the heathen are "dogs," to wish that every man should have brought near to him that which has given spiritual satisfaction to them?

The moment, indeed, was unusually favourable for such an undertaking. The peace which the Roman world enjoyed after so many wars not only allowed the freest movement in every direction, but made men's spirits more susceptible to religious influences. Well-constructed highways and active navigation facilitated communication with the most distant countries. The Greek language, with which all educated people were familiar, not only rendered possible a quick exchange of thoughts in the whole empire, but brought even the countries in the East, which have never bowed to the Roman eagle, into intellectual contact with the empire. Trade and commerce flourished so well that new ideas, conveyed to any one spot, of themselves spread further. The new religious movement was rising among the Jews. Members of this people were settled everywhere in the empire and far beyond its borders. The apostles of the new teaching could turn at once to these their countrymen. And the close connection with the Jewish belief into which so many heathen then entered, must have greatly facilitated the transmission of the movement to the heathen.

Brought up at Nazareth, Jesus came forward in his thirtieth year as a teacher among his people. For three years He preached throughout the land of Judaea that "the kingdom of Heaven was come." He devoted special instruction to those Jews who had resolved never to leave Him again. These "twelve" were some day to continue his work. What new thing did He intend to teach? What did He mean by saying that with Him the kingdom of God was present on earth? In order to settle this point rightly, we must not overlook the fact that very much of that which He taught was intended to be, one may say, elementary instruction, and was only spoken on account of the special needs of His chance hearers. Thus many of His sayings are directed *against* a distortion or disregard of such truths as were already to be found in the sacred writings of the Jews, against the Pharisaical transformation of the law as the will of God into a number of separate ordinances, the outward observance of which was effectual in gaining the approbation of God. He spoke against pride in the mere outward membership of the race of Abraham, which made it impossible to be excluded from eternal salvation. If such errors were refuted, it was only to clear away obstacles to the reception of the absolutely new teaching given by Him.

"No one comes to the Father, but through Me." That is the claim which He asserts. He will not adduce new ideas. He wishes rather to place men in such a position towards the God who is objectively present that they may hold Him actually as a father. What every religious craving, however unconscious,

strives for at bottom, and by which it can be completely satisfied, He wishes to give, and this He says He can give. "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Does any one seek rest from the accusations of his conscience? "I am the way" to this. Does any one seek certainty of belief? "I am the truth." Does any one seek a real life, raised above all that is miserable and transitory? "I am the life." He thus intensifies the idea of the "kingdom of God," which, according to the national hope of his people, the promised King, the Messiah, was to found, and declares Himself to be the Mediator of that kingdom of God.

But to have God as father and thus to stand in the kingdom of heaven, is for man a thing important beyond everything else. "What would it help a man, if he were to gain the whole world and lose his soul?" Compared with this relation to God, the relation to the nearest human being must take a secondary place. "Whoever loves father or mother, son or daughter more than me, he is not worthy of me," not worthy of that which I alone can give. And whoever has found this highest thing, must completely change his valuation of everything else. He would rather "cut his hand off, tear out his eye" than give up that possession, he is ready "to lose his life for my sake," in order not to lose me, through whom he has it.

But it is man as man who shall stand in this kingdom of God: "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever should believe on Him should not perish, but have everlasting life!" The distinction between Jew and heathen, then, loses its meaning. "they shall come from the East and from the West, from the North and from the South, and shall sit at meat in the kingdom of God" Thus all, who possess in common this "pearl of great cost," are by this most closely bound together: "one fold under one shepherd." So it cannot be immaterial to them that all men have not yet found that which brought peace to their own souls. They shall "testify" of Jesus, "let their light shine before men," and "make all nations disciples of Jesus." From the love of God proceeds naturally the love of mankind: "the second is like unto the first."

Finally, whoever lives in communion with the eternal God has thereby the pledge of eternal life. "For God is not a God of the dead, but of the living." And if the actual state of things in this world seems to contradict the claim which Jesus maintains, as well as the high honour promised to His disciples, yet the "kingdom of God will" one day "come in majesty." Jesus will separate the "godless" from the "just," and the latter, clothed with a new body, "will inherit the kingdom prepared for them since the foundation of the world."

From that community between God and man which Jesus desired to establish, there sprang, ^{the} the same thoughts which at that time had taken life in the heathen ^{and} conceptions of the one God, of humanity, of the importance of the individual, of the justification for the desire after happiness, of the better world to come, of sin, and of purification. Jesus did not announce these as mere ideas, but as realities, which partly exist, even if they are not acknowledged, partly will exist, even if they are not desired; and as an actual fact, which "belief," i.e. the trustful surrender to Him, proves to be real: "my teaching is from Him who sent me. If any one will do His will, he will know if this teaching be from God." "Whoever believes on me, he hath eternal life."



JERUSALEM, FROM THE MOUNT OF OLIVES

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE ON THE OPPOSITE SIDE

IN the foreground the Mount of Olives slopes down to the Valley of Kedron. To the right in the shadow we perceive the Garden of Gethsemane, enclosed by a wall; to the left, illuminated by the evening sun, the tomb of Absalom, a pyramid on a square base. In front of the city wall old gravestones are recognisable. In the middle of the south wall, which lies before us, rises the architecturally rich Golden Gate, walled up for centuries. The nearest open gate is the gate of St. Stephen, which lies farther to the right (the Jaffa Gate on the west side of the city, and the Damascus Gate, which leads northwards, are hidden on our picture by houses). Through the Golden Gate we should reach the site of the Temple on Mount Moriah. On it rises the High Place (Haram), paved with white marble, about $426\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and 525 feet broad. In the middle of this platform stands up the octagonal Mosque of Omar, the lower structure being of coloured marble, the dome about 64 feet in diameter and 85 feet high. This platform is joined on the west by an open space of about 328 feet in extent, — grass plots, with lovely groups of cypresses, pomegranates, and laurels, shut off by the extensive splendid Basilica of Justinian, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and by the Mosque of El-Aksa, recognisable by its dome. A little to the right of the dome of the Mosque of Omar, appear the two domes of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The judgment hall of Pilate, from which Jesus is said to have been led along the Sorrowful Path — Via Dolorosa — must be looked for in a building which stands near the square-based tower which rises from an old wall (between the Golden Gate and the gate of St. Stephen). In the background, on the left, David's Tomb and the church of Sion are conspicuous in our drawing, outside the city wall, before the gate of Sion; inside the wall is first the Armenian Convent, farther to the right the citadel, the tower of Hippicus, and the fort of Goliath. The place in which the church of St. Saviour, consecrated in 1898, has been erected, is hidden by the dome of the Mosque of Omar.

Religion, consequently, is raised above human choice and human ordinance. State religion is a denial of the true religion, and this is the meaning of the saying, "Give to Caesar what is Caesar's, and to God what is God's." Religion is a matter of the conscience, it is the immediate relation of the individual towards God: yet such a relation that its goal, the communion with God, is, in fact, only reached through Jesus. The assertion of this claim by Him, who bore no signs of external rank, tended to rouse many to sharp contradiction. As He said of Himself He was "come to stir up men against each other," so He foretold to those who were ready to labour for Him that they would be hated and persecuted, because many had "known neither Him nor his father;" but that no hostility would be able to check the growth of the kingdom of Heaven brought by Him. The small grain of seed was to become a mighty tree. The little leaven was to penetrate all, the whole world and all conditions of things.

Those Jews who surrendered themselves to His influence found in Him that which they had sought. "Master, thou hast the words of eternal life, and we have believed and known that thou art Christ, the Son of the living God." But the more distinctly Jesus let it appear that He wished to be recognised as the Messiah, and the larger the number of those who, full of confidence, hailed Him with joy, the higher rose the hostility of those in power among the people. This hostility reached its culminating point when Jesus on the first day of the week in which the Easter feast began made a striking and solemn entry into the capital. (See the plate, "Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives.") He thought that He had preached long enough and that by word and deed He had fully corrected that misunderstanding of the claim raised by Him, as if He wished for earthly honour; now He might bring matters to a decision. Whoever was not with Him was against Him. What must be, was now to happen. The leaders of the people resolved on His destruction. He did not withdraw from the gathering storm. He gave himself into the hands of His enemies. Both by silence and by speech He brought on the end. The Sanhedrin pronounced sentence of death on him, because He "blasphemed God" by the profane declaration that He was "Christ, the Son of the living God." The Roman procurator, Pontius Pilate, recognised that the accusation that Jesus had given himself out as a king was based on a misinterpretation of His words. But at the pressing persistence of the Jews he allowed at last the death sentence to be carried out, in order to be secure against the slanderous report at Rome that he had not sufficiently guarded the sovereign rights of the emperor. Jesus, hanging on the cross, prayed God to forgive His murderers, and assured the criminal crucified at His side, who in consciousness of his debt of sin turned in trust to Christ, that he would enter into everlasting bliss. And when He had overcome the deepest spiritual pang, the feeling of being forsaken by God, He declared when dying that His work was "done," and "commended His spirit into His father's hands."

In vain had Jesus tried to prepare His disciples for His death, and had represented it as His free act and as necessary for the "reconciliation of many." The hopes which they placed in Him were still so deeply tinged with national expectations that they had come to understand such statements figuratively. His death thus perplexed them in every way. He had so completely identified their religious belief with His own person that this belief could no longer exist

when He, on whom they trusted, was given up to death. One feeling only mastered them, fear — fear lest the same fate might be brought on them by their enemies.

Seven weeks later, when the Jewish feast of Pentecost is being celebrated, we see them completely transformed. Not a faint trace of human fear, nothing of doubt or uncertainty. The belief which Jesus' death had destroyed lives again in them with a certain inner conviction until now unknown, and with an almost alarming recklessness, that finds expression in the bold confession of their faith. In that same Jerusalem which had shouted round Jesus, " Away, away with Him, crucify Him!" they were now able publicly to preach before thousands " Jesus of Nazareth, the Man of God, you have with wicked hands nailed to the cross and slain. Him hath God raised up. Of this we all are witnesses. So now let the whole people of Israel know certainly that God hath made this Jesus Lord and Messiah." The possibility of doubt in Christ's resurrection and ascension is so entirely excluded from their thoughts that even before the Sanhedrin, and after they had been forced to suffer imprisonment and scourging for this declaration, they unflinchingly hold fast to their belief, " We cannot but speak what we have heard and seen." The four Gospels and the apostle Paul (1 Corinthians, 15) suggest to us what effected this tremendous revulsion in the feelings of the disciples when they tell us that Jesus during the first weeks after Easter tide appeared constantly, sometimes to his disciples singly, sometimes to many together, and, as it were, forced them who expected anything rather than His resurrection to the belief that He had not remained in the grave, and demonstrated to them the necessity of His death and of His resurrection, assuring them at the same time that even in the future He would " be with them even unto the end of the world." This conviction determines henceforth their whole life.

By preaching to the people they achieved important results. In a short time the number of those men only who let themselves be " baptised in Christ for the remission of sins " reached some five thousand. The feeling of the people was so favourable to this new religious community that the Sanhedrin did not yet venture to do more than to threaten and scourge some of the preachers. Men agreed with the counsel of the much-respected teacher, Gamaliel, to wait quietly for further developments.

What a picture is presented by this first Christian community when we remember how Jesus had exalted the value of belief in Him. Incontestably an unshaken certainty of religious trust filled these Christians. Neither the harsh contradiction of those who from education and position in life could have been the first to learn the truth, was able to make them waver; nor could the threats and the punishments, announcing still heavier penalties, on the part of the Sanhedrin, reduce them even to silence. Hard though it was for them to resist the distinct command of the leaders of their nation, yet they could only put the question to them, " Judge yourselves if it be right before God that we hearken unto you more than unto God!" For them religion had become a direct intercourse of the individual with God, into which no other man might intrude. They no longer recognise a religion of state or nation. Independent personal belief took the place of state belief; but the basis of their religious conviction is the consciousness of that which they possess in faith, the certainty that they

have received "forgiveness of sins and the gift of the Holy Ghost;" and, therefore, also that one day they should be refreshed by the vision of the face of God. They feel themselves so happy in this possession that "joy" is mentioned as the keynote of their spirit, which, on the one side, expresses itself in a continually new "lauding and praising of God;" on the other side, makes it impossible for them to conceal the great gift they have acquired. And in their joy at that which they all possess in common they feel themselves as "one heart and one soul," and that so sincerely that no one of them regards his material possessions as his own. Not, indeed, that those who enter into their community are required or expected to renounce personal possessions, but the brotherly love which animates all makes them devote their goods for others also "so far as there was need," in order that "no man might want." And yet this intimate union of the Christians among themselves did not lead them to erect barriers against those who stood outside their circle. Jews by birth, they still feel themselves members of their nation. They continue to live according to the forms of their ancestral law, take part still, as before, in the religious meetings in the Temple and in the Synagogues. We notice no trace here of that over-strained piety which is intended to conceal from the man's own consciousness the want of a real fund of piety in the soul. There is, indeed, joyful enthusiasm, but no religious extravagance or fanaticism. They cannot refrain from boldly confessing their belief, but they are far removed from the enthusiastic desire of conquering the world. It required some imperative cause to make them carry forth their belief beyond the limits set to them by their vocation and birth.

B. THE APOSTOLIC ERA (C. 30 TO 90 A.D.)

THE hostile attitude which the authorities in Jerusalem adopted towards the believers in Christ must have brought out much more clearly to them the consciousness of the difference between their belief and Mosaicism. This spiritual progress is seen in Stephen the Almoner, to whom his Greek education gave a more liberal view. Undismayed, he proclaimed that the service of the Temple and the law of Moses would not last for ever. For this he was stoned. His death was the signal for a universal persecution of the Christians. The consequence was the breaking up of the first community and as a result the spreading of the new belief. There arose communities in Samaria, on the coast of the Mediterranean, in Phœnicia, in Cyprus, and in Antioch, the capital of the East. And soon the boundaries of the Jewish people were passed. For in Antioch they ventured to take the "evangelium," the good news, to the Gentiles also. And so large was the number of the Christian Gentiles that the populace of Antioch was clear as to the distinction between this society and the Jews, and designated them "Christians."

The merit, however, of having first conceived and declared Christianity as a world-religion belongs rightly to Saul,* the Jew born at Tarsus in Cilicia.

* As a Roman citizen, Saul seems to have borne the name Paulus before this time. When on his first missionary journey he was on the point of entering into constant intercourse with the Graeco-Roman world, he would naturally think it suitable to travel under his Roman name.

He had been introduced to a profound study of the Jewish law by the renowned rabbi, Gamahel, and had given himself up to it with the fullest enthusiasm. Nevertheless, he was not without some tincture of Greek culture. A man cast in one mould, with nothing false, nothing incomplete in him, he had been kindled by that which he had learnt of Jesus and His followers into flaming zeal for the maintenance of the sacred ancestral law as the only path to salvation. The death of Stephen and the flight of the Christians from Jerusalem did not content him. Armed with letters of introduction from the Sanhedrin, he started for Damascus, in order to track out the Christians who had escaped thither and to lead them, fettered, to Jerusalem. But the Christians in Damascus learnt the incredible news that he had caused himself to be received into their community through baptism in the name of Christ. What had so completely transformed him on the way he has often told in the words, "The Lord Jesus appeared to me." This marvellous experience had forged and stamped his new religious conceptions. He was then convinced that He whom he had hated and opposed bitterly was not rejected of God, but was exalted to eternal glory. In what blindness had he then lived, what a burden of sin was on him! Notwithstanding his perfect observance of the law, nothing else but condemnation would have lighted on him. He was called back from his path of error and saved, owing to Him whom he had persecuted. Jesus met him, not with avenging wrath, but with mercy. From that time he praised the majesty of Jesus as the Saviour. Thus the doctrines of sin and of grace become the cardinal points of his preaching. And as all men are sinners, the grace of God in Christ extends over all mankind, over the Gentiles as much as over the Jews.

Paul devoted several years to gathering and assimilating the elements of his new religious conviction. For it is necessary for him to put before himself in all its logical consequences that which has become certain to him directly by faith, in order that he may recognise it as "divine wisdom." Then begins his incomparably great activity in the extension of the belief in which he has found salvation. With unspeakable toil he laid in ten years the foundations of the Church in Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Greece. He seeks to strengthen by epistles the communities founded by him and to shield them from errors. On his second missionary journey, which leads him over Asia Minor, through Macedonia, into Greece, he sends from Corinth his two epistles to the community recently established in Thessalonica: on the third journey he makes a longer stay in cosmopolitan Ephesus, and from here writes to the Christians assembled in Galatia and his first epistle to Corinth, writing a second also when on his way to Corinth he has reached Macedonia. From Greece his glance is directed further towards the West. At Rome a Christian community had already arisen, we do not know in what way. In the hope of preaching his gospel of salvation at Rome, in the centre of the "world," he addresses an epistle to the Christians, in order to prepare them for his arrival. He went there, but in fetters. In Jerusalem he is recognised by Jews from Asia Minor. They rouse the mass of the people by their cry that "this is the fellow who instructs men everywhere against the law and the Temple." The Roman tribune saves him from the fanaticism of the mob by arresting him and sending him to Cæsarea. Kept a prisoner without reason, he avails himself of the right of a Roman citizen to appeal to Cæsar, and he is taken to Rome. From the period of his mild imprisonment are dated his

epistles to Philemon, the Colossians, Philippians, and Ephesians. Recently there is a tendency to accept the view that he once more obtained his freedom and was able to carry out his wish to bear testimony to Christ as far as the Atlantic and ~~Spain~~^{if} this is really the case, the journeys, of which the two epistles to Timothy and to Titus speak, would have to be assigned to that date. It may be considered as fairly well established that by the orders of Nero at Rome his noble head fell beneath the sword of the executioner.

The hardest struggle of his life was concerned with setting Christianity free from the leading strings of Judaism. How could Christians who were Jews by birth immediately assent to his demand, so clearly and emphatically asserted, that in the presence of Christianity the wall between Jew and Gentile must be destroyed. For them it was a natural thing that even after their baptism they should continue to observe the law of their fathers. But that law prescribed the strictest separation from all Gentiles. It was only a preliminary and insufficient concession when Paul — at the so-called apostolic council at Jerusalem — succeeded in inducing the leaders and the majority of the community there to admit that the Gentile Christians were not bound to the observance of the Jewish law. All Christians were not “one fold under one shepherd” until the Jewish Christians also abandoned their law. This was a principle so bold that even the energy of a Paul could only establish it in the communities which he himself had founded; and there only after the greatest waverings and the most bitter struggles. For the Jewish Christians once more tried to persuade the Gentile Christians that without circumcision and the observance of the Mosaic law they could not be saved. These disputes caused Paul to cast the “Gospel” into a form which excluded every distinctively Jewish feature. In contrast to those who, through observance of the Jewish law, thought to please God, he defended with all his energy the proposition that no observance of the law in itself, in fact, no outward act of man at all had any value in God’s sight; that before God the attitude of children, childlike trust, and “faith,” were far more necessary, and that from this relation of man to God true morality followed necessarily: “By faith, without works of the law, we are righteous.”

The separation from Judaism, which Paul had demanded, was greatly helped by two events. The Christians of Jerusalem could not but see that even the strictest obedience to the law on their side could not cure their countrymen from their hatred of Christ. The head of the community, James, the brother of Jesus, bore the surname of the “Just,” because his strictness in observing the law and his asceticism were universally admired. The epistle in the New Testament which bears his name is full of exhortations of obedience towards the law; and yet his countrymen hurled him down from the pinnacle of the Temple, because he had praised Jesus. How could the Christians any longer hold fast to the hope that the Jewish people as a whole would still believe in Jesus! How much more easy for them was the separation, now that the terrible struggle of their nation against the Romans blazed up! Should they take up arms for the national freedom, in order to be persecuted in return by their own people? The Christian community abandoned the city when it was threatened with complete investment by the Romans. If — as is conjectured — some Christians remained behind to share the fortunes of their nation, they were the elements which had ever hindered an amalgamation with the Gentile Christians. The burning of

Jerusalem and its Temple must have given the death-blow to national restriction on Christianity.

This catastrophe drove the apostles at the same time from the centre of their present activity into far distant lands. One, Andrew, is said to have turned towards the Northeast and to have spread the Christian faith in Scythia northeast of the Black Sea and the Caspian. A second, Thomas, selected, as it is said, the countries between the Euphrates and the Indus for his sphere of work: at the present day a Christian society in India call themselves "Christians of St. Thomas" after him (see below, p. 215). We are likewise told of a third, Bartholomew, who preached in India. Others turned their steps to the interior of Asia Minor or to North Africa. The Christian community in Alexandria traced its foundation to John Mark, the companion of Paul and Peter, and the writer of the second Gospel. Peter seems to have laboured in Syria and Asia Minor (we have an epistle from him to the Christians of Asia Minor) and finally to have turned his steps to Rome, where he suffered martyrdom.

Only one figure rises in sharp relief out of the mists of tradition, that of the apostle John. After the imprisonment of Paul the communities founded by him in Asia Minor were left desolate. John entered on Paul's work, labouring in wide circles from Ephesus. The spirit which animated him is characterised by the tradition that when brought in extreme old age into the Christian assembly, he contented himself with the admonition, "Little children, love one another!" Yet this love of his was anything but effeminate, as later tradition represented it. On the contrary, he was sure that fervent love among the Christians was possible only so long as the *truth* was not distorted among them. Once — so the story runs — as he entered a bath he learnt that the false teacher Cerinth was there. "Away from here," he cried to his companions, "that the bath may not fall in on us, since Cerinth, the foe of truth, is there." The feeling of bitter indignation at the "spirit of lying" which was then creeping into Christian communities speaks in his epistles. His Gospel also follows the line of confuting misstatements and proving that "Jesus is the Christ, who is come into the world, and that through faith in His name we have life." The Apocalypse, which he is said to have written while an exile on the island of Patmos in the Aegean Sea, vigorously attacks all indifference to false doctrines. Thus, quite at the close of the apostolic era we meet those tendencies towards the distortion of original Christianity which were destined in the ensuing period to jeopardise its existence.

THE INNER LIFE OF THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY IN THE AGE OF THE APOSTLES

WHAT was the constitution of the original community? We find, on the one hand, no eagerness for organisation; on the other hand, fundamental aversion to it. Questions of organisation were clearly far removed from these Christians. This was not because they hoped, at any rate in the early days, to win their whole nation to their faith, in which case an independent, permanent organisation seemed unnecessary; nor because they expected the immediate end of the world, and thus thought it unnecessary to secure the permanence of their society by the introduction of legal forms; but chiefly because the fulness of life and

a strong social spirit filled them all, and because they knew that their continued existence was guaranteed by their Lord, who, though invisible, was ever near. Naturally the apostles took a leading position, but this "office" was regarded as a "service." And when more rights or, properly speaking, more opportunities for rendering service were given them than they could exercise usefully, they caused certain men to be chosen out of the community, who relieved them of the care of the poor: the "Seven," as they were first called in contradistinction to the "Twelve" apostles; the "Elders" (presbyters), as they seem to have been designated later, when their number became greater with the growing community. But it did not occur to the apostles to reserve to themselves the superintendence over this society, as if its powers emanated from their supreme authority, nor did the community claim a right of electing its officers, nor do we even notice anywhere any aversion to the creation of a new office. New conditions and apparent needs caused new offices to be formed, and no extravagant feeling, which would wish to leave everything to freedom and to the impulse of the spirit, opposed this better arrangement. But when the apostles had no longer any permanent abode in Jerusalem, we see another man at the head of the community, the brother of Jesus, already mentioned, James. Yet we cannot ascertain how far his authority was limited; evidently it was not closely limited, being a service of love shown to the community. After his death it is another kinsman of Jesus, Simeon by name, who stands serving at their head. Together with the one "leader," the elders seem to have attended to the external affairs of the community.

The development was somewhat different in the communities composed principally of Gentiles. Here Paul instituted elders. Not, however, at once, as if such an office were necessary in itself, but it was only on the return journey from his first missionary tour that he determined to do so. The need for some single administrative body had soon shown itself. It is not told us whether he himself nominated these men or whether he left the election of them to the community. Such questions of jealousy and distrust still lay far from those Christians. They recognised only duties in the service of the brethren, but no rights. This was the intended sense of the word by which the importance of the chief office was expressed "episcopus." As the Christians called Jesus "the shepherd and bishop of their souls," so also they called the men who, like Him, cared for the flock. The meaning to be conveyed was not that of overseers, but of guardians. "Not as those who rule the people" were they called shepherds, but because they fed the flock, provided it with nourishment, and guarded it from wolves. We soon come across still another office, that of the "servants," deacons. They performed special commissions or services, which the bishops pointed out to them.

This, then, was the organisation — if we may speak of it as such — of the separate communities: in the original community a leader and with him a number of presbyters entrusted with separate tasks; in the Gentile-Christian communities a college of presbyters, or "bishops," at the head, with the deacons to aid them.

What, then, was the relation of these different communities to each other? Did they stand independently side by side, or did they legally form a united whole? Neither one nor the other. The separate communities neither sought

anxiously to preserve their absolute independence, nor did they wish to compel a united organisation. They *felt* themselves to be a unity, and, therefore, tried to create and to preserve ties among themselves, to smooth or abolish distinctions. As soon as communities were formed outside Jerusalem, the apostles felt that they had obligations towards them. Two of them went to Samaria, in order to minister to the Christians there. Barnabas was sent to Antioch, in order to "strengthen" those who had been baptised into Christianity. In every imaginable way Paul tried to establish the fact that all Christians formed a single aggregate. He greeted the one community from the other, sent salutations from individuals to individuals at a distance. He made the communities exchange among themselves the letters they had received from him. One community sent support to him while he laboured in another. He organised a fund among the Christians converted by him on behalf of the distressed Christians of Palestine. Even in outward relations he tried to establish equality among all believers, and based such arrangements on the argument that other communities observed them. But the violent dispute over the necessity of observing the law established the fact that all baptised in Jesus were one. The different attitudes with regard to this question would destroy this unity, hence the struggles to find a compromise. But there was not yet any need to represent this unity in any systematic form. As long as apostles lived, they were the outward bond of the Church.

The common religious life in this first period bore the same character. Here, again, there was nothing of legal precept and fixed ordinance. The Christians of Jerusalem still took a zealous part in the religious life of their nation. But withal there was the need to emphasise and to promote that which was common to them and which differentiated them from those who did not believe in Jesus. They assembled in the houses, in order "to remain in the teaching of the apostles," to pray in common, to testify to the close bonds of union between themselves by partaking of common meals, and to celebrate the "Lord's Supper in remembrance of Him."

In the communities composed principally of Gentiles two sorts of religious services were soon distinguishable. The one class, intended only for the brethren, comprised the *agapé*, or love-feast, and the celebration of the Lord's Supper; the other, to which those also who had not yet received baptism were admitted, served for the preaching of their faith. If Paul was the leader of the assembly, he naturally was the speaker. If he was not there, an extract from the Old Testament or from letters written by Paul was read, or some other person stepped forward who felt moved to speak. One spoke as "prophet" on the strength of a revelation; the other, as "teacher," explained what the present or former revelation connoted; the third "exhorted" while he applied the word of God to individuals by name. Not only in comparison with the apostles who were equipped with this threefold gift, but also in comparison with the members of the community, to whom one of these gifts was granted, the elders (or bishops) at first were quite subordinated in the religious service. But soon, in certain places at least, were seen the dangers of a procedure so exposed to caprice. The excitable Greek spirit allowed religious enthusiasm to express itself in forms, which did not tend towards the "edification" of the meeting, and vanity and self-complacency could easily lead to intemperance of speech. To meet such

a state of affairs in the Corinthian church, Paul had to lay down the principle that all gifts are bestowed for the "common good," and that all speech, therefore, which did not seem to edify those present must be discontinued. There appeared, then, quite soon in the celebration of the divine service a limitation on the rightful liberty of the individual. As the number of the Christians increased and the expectation of the approaching end of the world lessened, the religious zeal of the earliest period yielded to a more restrained calmness, and the gift of prophecy was more rarely seen. Therefore, in the choice of new bishops the condition was laid down that they must possess the gift of teaching, in order that the communities might not, when none of the old apostles was any longer among them, be dependent in their religious meetings merely upon "prophets" and "teachers." Thus it also happened that while at first the Christians assembled daily, if possible, gradually a definite day of the week was reserved for meeting for divine worship. Even in apostolic times this was the "Lord's Day," the first day of the week, on which the Lord rose from the dead.

In order to form a correct conception of the moral conditions prevalent in the Gentile-Christian communities, we must not fail to notice that the high demands which the writings of Jesus' disciples, so well known to us, make upon their readers do not at all reflect the opinions of Christianity at that date, but only the ideas of those who had grown up in the purer atmosphere of Judaism. On the contrary, not only do we come upon instances of gross offences against morality, but especially the warnings and admonitions given by Paul in his epistles as to what was necessary for "salvation" show how completely the moral bias of the Christians was as yet under the influence of the conditions and ideas which prevailed in the Gentile world. That there must be another standard of morality than custom, and that every Christian with regard to this question must acquire a completely independent judgment and maintain it and follow it in opposition to a world which judges quite otherwise — to inculcate this and to accustom the Christians to the permanent realisation of these new moral notions, must have required tens, if not hundreds, of years. A man only announced the desire for regenerated life by his request to be received into the community. Only gradually were people forced to learn what this new life comprised, to learn somehow that the relation of the sexes was not a matter of moral indifference; that even the nourishment of the body required rules, and that man was not the free lord over his own words.

On the other hand, there now arose the danger of a miscomprehension of the new and great ideas which Christianity had brought forth. They were, according to the word of their Founder, to work gradually, like leaven, in the world, inwardly first, then outwardly, they were little by little to change the universal ideas, so as to make the outward form of life more and more different. The danger rested in the fact that Christians would come to regard existing institutions and conditions as abolished by Christianity, since they were influenced by the spirit of paganism, instead of adapting themselves to them until they were changed by the new spirit. It might be thought that the high position and the freedom which were fitting to the Christian as a "child of God and heir of eternal life" did not allow any subordination to other men, especially to non-Christians: any subordination of the wife to the husband, of the slave to his master, of subjects to heathen magistrates. The apostle Paul is obliged to prove

that the Christian, through his new relation towards God, is in no way exempted from the laws of the community; that he should show his faith in God, who has willed or permitted these regulations, by willing self-submission to them. Similarly the thought that the Christian, as moved by the spirit of God, stood no longer under the outward law, was interpreted to mean that a man could now live in freedom and opposition to the law. Paul is compelled to warn them not to make " freedom a cloak for wickedness." We also hear of some who prided themselves on a deeper " knowledge," a more secret wisdom, who praised special abstinence, blamed marriage, and forbade certain foods, the first traces of that gnosticism which in the succeeding period was to prove the most serious danger to primitive Christianity. The apostle Paul looked at the future of the Christian communities with gloomy forebodings when he thought himself at the end of his ministry. John, too, cries warningly, " Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God."

One thing the Church took with her to meet the approaching storms: the writings of her founders, a substitute for their oral preaching and a means through which they could be moved by the spirit of the founder. Attempts were made to keep alive the form, the life, the teaching of Jesus. Collections of His sayings (*logia*) must soon have been made, with the addition, more or less, of the historical events connected with them. The Gospel, the good tidings, is the name given to these attempts to recall the facts on which the Christian belief rests. Of those Gospels which are extant, the three with which the New Testament opens are the oldest. There are no cogent reasons for refusing to ascribe the first to the apostle Matthew or to doubt the old account that he wrote his book, in the first place, for the Jewish Christians in Palestine, and, therefore, in the Aramaic language. The Greek version which we know may also be attributed to him, since such a bilingual publication of a work is familiar to us from other writers of the time. The correctness of the tradition that the second Gospel is the work of the already mentioned John Mark, the companion of Peter, is vouched for by some peculiarities of the book. The authorship of the third is attributed to Luke the Physician, who on many occasions accompanied Paul. He wished to produce a treatise on the sacred story for the Gentile-Christian, Theophilus. He added to it as a second part a description of the course which the Gospel mission had taken from Jerusalem to Rome, the so-called Acts of the Apostles. The numerous attempts to explain the various almost verbal coincidences of these three Gospels, as well as the accompanying discrepancies, have not yet led to any universally recognised results.

C. THE POST-APOSTOLIC ERA (c. 90 to 180)

As the coral reefs rise higher and higher from the bottom of the sea, until a storm discloses to those who sail over them the secret growth of long ages, thus Christianity expands in the calm, and the great world knows nothing of it, until suddenly through the storm of persecution a Christian community becomes visible to all. There are records of martyrs, from which we learn that in the country of Garamæa, east of the Tigris, south of the Little Zab, Christians dwelt even before 170 A.D. The kingdom of Osroëne, having Edessa as its capital, extended along the eastern bank of the Euphrates. There were Christians here

at so early a period that the legend could arise of the Abgar (prince) of this land sending letters to Jesus. Towards the end of the second century Abgar Bar Manu stamped the sign of the cross on his coins. The governor of Bithynia announced to the emperor, Trajan (98-117), that not only the towns, but also the villages and the plains were full of Christians, the heathen temples were almost deserted, the duty of sacrificing to the gods almost forgotten. From Egyptian Alexandria Christianity pushed on towards the south. Not only Jewish and Greek circles were opened to it, but in the next few years a Coptic translation of the writings of the New Testament was able to find circulation, and Christian communities appear in the Thebais. In the same way the Gospel spread towards the east in Arabia and towards the west in the district of Cyrene. From Rome the Christian faith was borne over the sea to Africa, and Carthage became a new colony. At the beginning of the following period (circa 200) Tertullian could declare that if a persecution of the Christians were to be carried out, "Carthage must be decimated." A synod which was held there united no less than seventy African and Numidian bishops. The commercial relations between Asia Minor and southern Gaul facilitated the sowing here of the seed of the new faith. About the year 177 Christian communities flourished there, at Lugdunum (Lyon) and Vienna (Vienne), as we learn from the account of the cruel persecution endured by them which these communities sent to the churches in Asia and Phrygia. It is only by chance that we hear anything of new Christian communities. Wherever in the Roman empire or beyond its boundaries Christians came, they spoke of that which was the highest to them. Celsus, the enemy of the Christians, reports in 178. "Weavers, tanners, shoemakers, the most uneducated and roughest men, are the most zealous preachers." At the same time many Christians made it their life's work to spread their faith. These missionaries were called apostles. The "Teaching of the Apostles," which appeared about 110, required that they should restrict themselves to labouring among the heathen and permitted them to remain two days, at the longest, in places where Christian communities already existed. In what circles did this new belief find adherents? With the conviction that Christianity was the true wisdom Paul has complained: "Not many wise, not many mighty, not many noble!" With the view that only those learned in philosophy could judge of such transcendent questions, Celsus scoffed at the uneducated Christians. But we hear also of philosophers who found in Christianity that which they sought for vainly in the different schools of heathen wisdom. We know of near relations of the emperor who became Christians. Certainly in the meetings of the Christians there were far more poor men and slaves than noble and learned men. But if we take into consideration how small the number of educated men was at that time in comparison with the mass of uneducated — only one-half per cent. of the inhabitants of Rome belonged to the upper classes — there is absolutely no reason for the assumption that Christianity attracted principally only the uneducated.

The Christian literature of this period contradicts such an assumption. Comparatively little of it has been preserved. But in it we find such writings as in no way betray a low standard of education in their authors.

Above all, the wish to possess material for Christian teaching induced persons to alter Jewish writings according to Christian notions. At the end of the first

century the "Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs" appeared, which places prophecies in the mouths of Jacob's sons, to which are joined moral warnings and references to the fulfilment of the hopes of Christians. Consequently some, through the wish to picture to themselves the beginnings of Christianity in a more clear and thorough manner than the writings preserved from primitive times afforded, others, through the need to lend authority to new but divergent views through ostensibly old records, let themselves be led away into creating new Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Epistles, or Revelations. We are acquainted merely with the names or with scanty fragments of most of such works; and, as a rule, there are no data by which to determine the period of their production and to decide the question whether they should be reckoned as religious romances or as records from ancient times. Early in the post-apostolic period must have been composed the "Protevangelium of James the Younger," which depicts the infancy of Jesus from the birth of his mother, Mary, to the massacre of the Innocents at Bethlehem. To the same period roughly belong the Gospel and Revelation of Peter, our knowledge of which has been greatly enriched by the latest discoveries in the monk's grave at Achmin. The former so depicts the story of Jesus' passion that Pilate, the representative of the heathen world, appears in a more favourable light. The latter regards the present Christians as degenerate, and attempts to bring them back to their senses by describing hell and its unspeakable torments. An Asiatic presbyter is said to have composed the "Stories of Paul and Thecla." When called to account for his boldness, he declared he had so treated the subject only out of love for Paul. But this disinterested motive could not shield him from deposition. The Church did not wish, like the heretics, that pious frauds should prevail.

A second group of writers of our period is comprised under the title of "Apostolic Fathers." A schism had arisen in the Corinthian community and had led to the removal of certain presbyters from office. Then — probably in the year 97 — the presbyter Clemens sent thither from Rome a letter, exhorting them to humility and love. Clemens did not write as Roman bishop or as Pope, and did not even mention his own name — "The church of God, on pilgrimage at Rome, to the church of God, abiding at Corinth in a strange land." A second letter, known under the name of the "Second Letter of Clemens," certainly did not emanate from that presbyter. It was probably written about 140, and is not a letter, but the oldest Christian sermon (homily) of which we know, an exhortation to the "trial and conflict in this life, that we may be crowned in the life to come." The famous Hermas was a layman: his writing bore the title of "Shepherd," because the angel of repentance, in whose mouth most of the exhortations are placed, is introduced by him as a shepherd. In the form of visions the point is impressed that there is yet time for repentance. This writing at first enjoyed such high esteem in the Church that it was almost placed on a level with the Holy Scriptures of primitive times and reckoned, at any rate, worthy of being read aloud in divine service. This fact should be evidence that it appeared at an early date, somewhere at the beginning of the second century. The so-called "Epistle of Barnabas," which may belong to the same time, stood in high esteem in Alexandria, although the author carries his opposition to Judaism to such a pitch as to declare the observance of the Mosaic laws by the Jews to be a diabolic error, and although he puts a new interpretation on the

Old Testament by means of almost incredibly bold allegories. The second part of this epistle describes the two roads, the road of life and that of death — clearly a somewhat ancient work, for it actually forms — only in a somewhat divergent copy — the first half of the "Teaching of the Apostles," written about 110, with which we first became acquainted in 1883, although it was long known that it was once highly valued. Its second part gives rules for Christian worship and Christian social life. Through this we gain an insight into the affairs of the Church at that time, such as no other writing affords us. A peculiar interest is presented by the seven letters which the Bishop Ignatius of Antioch wrote in 112 on his way to martyrdom at Rome to different communities in Asia Minor and to the Bishop Polycarp, in order to exhort them to steadfastness and concord. He begs the Christians of Rome not to make another attempt to liberate him. For he is absolutely convinced that death will lead him to life, and that by anything which he might still say or do in life he would not be able to testify so forcibly to his faith, as through steadfast endurance of death by the teeth of the wild beasts in the arena. Soon after his death we find the letter of Polycarp from Smyrna to the community in Philippi, which had asked him to send all the writings of the martyr that were in his hands. This letter contains so many quotations from the New Testament Scriptures that it is at the same time of importance as an eloquent testimony of their antiquity.

While the Christian literature of this period which we have so far mentioned was intended for Christians, the third series of writings was directed to the heathen. It was called forth by the new position which the pagan world, especially the state authorities, assumed towards Christianity. Up to the beginning of the post-apostolic era the Christians had certainly suffered from the hatred of the Jews. The Roman state, on the contrary, as a rule, laid no obstacles in their way, holding as yet no regard for them. Sprung from Judaism, they were reckoned as a Jewish sect. When they were suddenly, in the year 64, recognised at Rome as an independent body and were persecuted by the state, the disregard which was again shown them during the next decades proves that such exceptional procedure requires a special explanation. The motive of the massacre of the Christians by Nero was merely the need of the emperor to shift upon others the suspicion that he had set fire to the capital of the world for his own pleasure. Who should these others be than the Jews, especially those who had their stalls where the fire broke out? And how could these escape the danger threatening them more simply and safely than by diverting the suspicion from themselves to the hated Christians? Thus the state authorities learnt to make a difference between the Jews and the Christians of the town, but only for the immediate occasion. The authorities never believed in the real guilt of these Christians, and the previous state of indifference towards them continued.

The position must have become quite different when the outbreak and failure of the Jewish rising not only entirely separated the Christians from the Jews in internal relations, but compelled them to take precautions no longer to be mistaken for a Jewish party. And now, when the distinction between them and the Jews was universally known, it was perceived that their number had become unsuspectedly large, and was increasing every day on a scale which had never been noticed in any sect. It had become impossible to disregard them. Men had to form a judgment on Christians, according to what they learnt of this move-

ment, that had swollen in secret to such an extent. The more men became acquainted with Christianity, the more were they bound to despise and hate it, if they did not wish to surrender themselves to it. The unfeigned, hearty enthusiasm of the Christians, the firm conviction, which excluded all wavering of faith, the assertion that Christianity was the true religion of salvation, were bound in an age of scepticism and eclecticism to appear as insane fanaticism and intolerable presumption, unless out of a desire for that special gift which the Christians claimed to possess, men were willing to make trial of it. The lofty contempt of the Christians for everything they called "sin" could not fail to affront deeply an age which Seneca pronounced to be "full of crime and wickedness," and must have been felt to be hostile arrogance, unless men were willing to admire and imitate it. But this very fact, that *the Christians wished to be different from all others*; that they did not attend the popular festivals, closely connected with the state cult, and the licentious or brutal spectacles (in which the people expressed their national self-consciousness); that they defined the task of life so differently from the rest of the world and staked their all on something other and presumably higher than wealth, honour, or enjoyment — this irritated the heathen world. It invented, spread, and believed only too gladly incredible crimes of this weird sect, which could not be measured by any traditional standard. At their secret meals they were said to slaughter and eat children. Perhaps a listener had once heard the words, "Take and drink all of this; this cup is the New Testament in my Blood" — or they were reported to indulge in the grossest immorality — perhaps a spy had once seen the Christians before the celebration of the sacred feast giving each other the kiss of brotherhood, but had not reported that only men with men and women with women thus showed their close bonds of union. Men felt themselves the more entitled to attribute these crimes to them, since they were indignant at their secret proceedings. It is quite comprehensible that under such circumstances the persecutions of the Christians were on many occasions due to the wishes of the mass of the people.

The courts, however, needed the support of the law before they could accede to such demands. Three laws of the empire could be brought to bear on the question. The law of the Twelve Tables forbade men to have other gods than those publicly recognised. The Julian law as to treason declared everything to be a crime against the state which bore in itself the character of secret discontent with the government, e.g. secret nightly meetings. The law as to sacrilegious, finally, was directed against the refusal to sacrifice to the gods or to the genius of the emperor. It is clear that all these laws rest on the same conception: everything, even religion, must be subordinate to the state. Not that which is true must be believed; not that which is moral must be done; the welfare of the state stands above truth and morality. It is a crime against the state to doubt the religion adopted by the state and not to submit to it. Would the Christians admit this theory? In so doing they would give up their Christianity. For, according to Christianity, religion is the personal bond between man and God, which has to precede all other relations. Therefore, there was nothing left to the state but to compel these Christians by its own power to adopt its religion. But if they could not be forced to do so, if their fellowship with God was worth more to them than life itself, then the question was bound to arise whether the state

could maintain its position against such unexampled constancy and stay until not one of these heroes was left on earth, or whether finally, vanquished by the supernatural, it would abandon its claim and bow before the God of these Christians — a tremendous spectacle, this struggle for life and death between the Roman state, equipped with the united strength of this world, and this band of Christians, with no other power at their disposal than the power to die.

As early as the reign of Domitian the blood of Christians flowed in Rome. Where after that they were brought to trial no one can say. As the younger Pliny, governor of Bithynia, in the year 112 inquired from the emperor, Trajan, how he was to deal with the Christians, persecutions must already have taken place. Pliny excused his inquiry on the plea that he had never yet been present at the trials of Christians. He begged for information on the question whether those Christians also who had committed no offences were to be condemned; whether, that is to say, the mere fact of being a Christian was punishable, and whether he was authorised to discharge those who, by invocation of the gods and by sacrifices before the statue of the emperor, proved their loyalty to the state, even if previously they had been Christians. The emperor answered both questions in the affirmative, but forbade officials to spy out the Christians or to give credit to anonymous suspicions. Christianity was evidently to him only an extravagance, innocent in itself, but also unlawful, and one which could not be declared permissible. This correspondence was published a few years after. Accordingly, a definite precedent for the treatment of the Christians was established for the officials, which was observed up to the middle of the third century. What a peculiar position was created by that edict! "When dealing with the Christians," complains Tertullian, "they punish not deeds, but the name." And yet they did not punish the use of the name Christian as an illegal act, which is punished, even if it is not likely to be repeated. On the contrary, a man could win complete exemption from penalty if he relinquished the name temporarily: a man might be a Christian before and after the judicial proceeding. What real strength must Christianity have had in itself if, despite this easy means of defence, Christians never thought to make use of it, and regarded those members of their community who did make use of it as no longer Christians! What love for truthfulness must this Christian faith have inculcated! It was the name which was punished, and yet not only a name, but a deed.

No one can say how far this persecution, which we hear of through Pliny, extended. The head of the community at Jerusalem, Simeon, fell. One of the last victims was the (p. 177) aforementioned Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, who was dragged to Rome to be thrown before the wild beasts. But up to the end of the post-apostolic time the hatred against the Christians kept breaking out, now here, now there, into violent eruptions. The notion that Christians were punishable as such was so universal that the heathen people regarded a formal judicial inquiry as unnecessary punctiliousness and wished the Christians to be punished without it. In public disasters men thought they could trace the wrath of the gods. "If the Tiber rises to the houses, if the Nile does not rise over the fields, if the earth shakes, if famine or pestilence breaks out, straightway the people cry out, 'To the lions with the Christians!'" Antoninus Pius (138-161) was compelled to issue edicts which enforced strict observance of legal methods with regard to such violent proceedings. Yet the state never doubted its ability

to completely annihilate this preposterous movement so soon as it seemed necessary. To be obliged to fear it was pure absurdity!

This new situation, that both the bulk of the population and the authorities considered Christianity worthy of notice and of opposition produced a new class of literature, the apologetic. Experience taught that neither the self-vindication of the Christians when placed before the courts nor the fact of their moral purity were sufficient to move their opponents from their hatred. The attempt had, therefore, to be made to obtain another verdict, through writings, intended to prove all hostile reproaches to be meaningless and Christianity to be the fulfilment of that for which the nobler heathen also craved. Soon there were Christian philosophers and rhetoricians, heads of communities, who addressed such writings sometimes to the heathen generally, sometimes directly to the emperor.

Born in Samaria of Hellenic parents, Justin had sought for certainty of religious conviction in one school of philosophy after another, and had found it at last in Christianity. This, therefore, was reckoned by him as the true philosophy, in the sense that it actually performed that which philosophy only promised to give. He did not for this reason doff his philosopher's cloak, but tried by lectures and disputations to win adherents to Christianity. About the year 150 he addressed an apology to Antoninus Pius, and soon afterwards, moved by a specially outrageous case of an unjust sentence against Christians, he published a second and shorter apology. As he had risen through philosophy to Christianity, so he now gladly pointed to the fact that among the nobler philosophers traces of the same divine wisdom appear, which manifested itself perfectly in Jesus. But there speaks in his writings not only a lover of wisdom who has to do with mere knowledge, but a manly character glad to die for the truth. "You can kill, but you cannot harm us!" He, indeed, suffered scourging and death at Rome in the year 165, together with a number of his scholars, "because they would not sacrifice to the gods."

The same road to Christianity led his pupil Tatian, who was of Assyrian stock, to another conception of what previously had been dear to him. He, too, found at last among the Christians that which he in vain looked for among the Greeks. But he was concerned, above all, with the question of moral regeneration. He therefore saw now only the dark side in Greek philosophy and art, and in his "Speech to the Greeks" (c. 155) praised Christianity as the truth, accessible even to the uneducated, which morally recreated mankind.

Quite contrary is the method of the "Negotiations on behalf of the Christians" (by the ordinary translation, "Petition [*Supplicatio*] for the Christians," the meaning of "*πρεσβεία περὶ Χριστιανῶν*" is not exactly represented), which the otherwise unknown "Athenian philosopher," Athenagoras, addressed to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. He not only answered the taunts and crimes flung at the Christians, but tried also to prove that precisely those views which were condemned in Christians were to be found in a similar form in heathen philosophers. In a second writing on the Resurrection he sought to represent this single doctrine as in no way unreasonable.

The classical treatise of the Roman advocate, Minucius Felix, may have been written about 180. In form it followed Cicero's "De Naturā Deorum" as a model. It is entitled "Octavius," because its contents are in the form of

a conversation which Octavius, the friend of the author, holds on the seashore near Ostia with the heathen Cæcilius about the Christian and heathen religions. The latter, a sceptic, is disgusted at the positiveness with which uneducated Christians judge of God and God's attributes. Simply because nothing is certain he maintains men ought to adhere to the traditional belief in the gods. All that the average pagan education of that time could adduce against Christianity could be freely expressed in this discussion. Octavius makes a friendly answer, but with such clearness and emphasis that his opponent finally declares himself vanquished. "We then went joyous and glad on our way. Cæcilius rejoiced that he had become a believer, Octavius that he had conquered, and I that my Cæcilius had become a believer and that my Octavius had conquered."

While the above-mentioned and similar writings were only intended for such heathens as despised Christianity or hated and persecuted it, and, therefore, were only meant to demonstrate to them the baselessness of their hostility, and selected isolated points against which to direct their attack, passing over in silence the deepest truths of Christianity, another treatise of this class was able to work more freely, since it was meant for a man who already faced Christianity with some interest and good will. The unknown author of the "Letter to Diognetus," a man who was capable, through classical acquirements, of writing in a pure style, had no need to shrink from describing to such a man the great truth of Christianity, which might seem to the genuine pagan a degradation of the Divinity, the truth that "God is love." To this love, he explained, a man must surrender himself. In joyful gratitude he cannot but love God in return, and from this springs also brotherly love. Thus Christianity is the religion of the spirit and of truth, which can surmount all incidental, individual and national distinctions, and is able to create new men. "Its adherents are not differentiated from other men by country, speech, or any external qualities; they take part in everything as citizens, and are satisfied with everything as strangers. They live in the world, and yet are not of the world. They obey the existing laws, but by their life transcend the requirements of the law. They love all and are persecuted by all. They are not known, and yet they are condemned. They are put to death, and by this led to life."

Even in these few words a breath of that peculiar spirit is wafted towards us which inspired these early Christians, and is apparent in all the extant literature of that time. Everything is sustained by the consciousness that the Christian has found something inexpressibly great; that his life has gained a glorious importance, an exalted purpose; that the discord in it is abolished; that unity and harmony has entered into its thoughts, will, and deed. Ignatius calls the Christians "Bearers of God, bearers of Christ, bearers of the Holy One, adorned on all sides by the commands of Jesus Christ." He terms Christianity "something colossal." The Christians are not perplexed because the heathen do not understand it. That, which faith gives, remains concealed to profane eyes. But they know themselves to be so rich that the keynote of their life is joy. Even Hermas, the earnest preacher of repentance, can write, "Banish all sorrow. It is worse than all evil spirits. The spirit of God which is granted you endures no sorrow and no complaining. Put on the joyous mood which is ever well pleasing to God. Let it be well to thee in Him. For

all live to God who cast away sorrow and clothe themselves in pure joyousness."

Conscious that in truth they need not be ashamed of their faith and of their life, and that no power of the world could take from them their unseen kingdom, the Christians scorned to beg for mercy. Even in the apologies which were laid down at the throne of the rulers of the world no cringing or flattery is found. "Not with flattery nor begging for forgiveness do we come before you," writes Justin. Rightly has it been said that there was here no trace to be found of a submissive, sorrowful, apologetic tone. The consciousness of fighting for the truth and of being able to die for it gave them a dignified bearing, and they did not shrink from any attempt to make the murderous opponent feel his own grievous injustice. The Cæsars thus came to hear a strain hitherto unknown to them. In their meetings for divine worship the Christians prayed fervently for their emperor, whom their God had appointed. (Tertullian.) How could they, speaking before this emperor, in order merely to obtain indulgence, deny that Christianity was something hitherto unknown!

While the Christians were thus fighting against the annihilation which threatened them from the heathen world, that current in their midst, of which we have already noticed the first traces in the apostolic age, grew stronger (cf. above, pp. 170 and 173). The storms from without coincide with a process of disintegration within.

The more the old religions lost in estimation, the greater was the tendency to put new philosophic interpretations on the old myths, to find in them popular descriptions of profound ideas, and then to blend the ideas won from various religions into one speculative system. Thus a distinction was made between the religion to be conceded to the uneducated and the Gnosis, a knowledge which was to be accessible only to a select band. This was to solve the riddle of the universe; above all, to give clear evidence as to the origin, meaning, and object of the dualism which pervades everything, of the contrast between idea and sensible manifestation, between good and evil, between light and darkness. This movement of the times affected the Christian communities also. Primitive Christianity wished to give fellowship with God; but he who found that fellowship extolled also "the wealth in wisdom and knowledge" which had become his. And, without doubt, Christianity announced many thoughts quite new to the heathen world; so those men turned to it who looked to it for an actual solution of speculative problems and for a means of satisfying their eagerness for knowledge. Soon the numbers of the Christians had become too great to be completely free from such elements. They drew other Christians to themselves, promising to them knowledge higher than the common belief which the Church could give. A society of the initiated was formed. The magic system of mysteries with its symbolic actions and secret consecrations was borrowed from the heathen world, in order that not merely the understanding, but also the spirit, might be contented. Essentially all this was paganism. But it accepted Christian thoughts, above all, the idea of redemption, and in this process of evolution assigned a place to Him from whom Christians take their name. Yet they do not mean by this that redemption from sin and its consequences which Christianity desires, but a redemption from the world, a liberation of the spiritual from the material, of the light from the darkness.

Endless is the variety of these different Gnostic systems, strange, weird, bizarre phantoms in the pale moonlight; a mixture of the most opposite cults, of Greek and Jewish philosophy, Syro-Phœnician theories as to the creation of the world, the astrology and magic of the East; all hardly to be grasped by modern conceptions. Some required strict asceticism and won over many by their conspicuous sanctity. Others declared that they were raised above the lower laws of conventional morality, and did not wish to resist the all-powerful impulses of nature. They all offered the hand of friendship to Christianity if it would only adapt itself to the new and brightly glittering fabric.

A serious menace to the Church! Fixed standards were still wanting by which to test what doctrines were unauthorised in the Church. There were, indeed, holy writings from the primitive times of Christianity; but the Gnostics also appealed to these in support of their views, putting arbitrary interpretations on them by means of the system of figurative explanation prevalent among the Christians. At the same time they themselves fabricated professedly apostolic writings and prided themselves on being in possession of a secret tradition which only the chosen apostles could have received. Who was to decide what was truth? The order of independent prophets was still esteemed. The offices in the Church were still appointed without regard to unity. The connection between the communities was as loose as ever. Only one thing was left which could teach them to recognise and avoid the troubled waters that were surging in, that was the Christian spirit. Would it be clear and strong enough to repel this self-conscious, insinuating Gnosis? The Church recognised this enemy welcomed as a friend. It did not rest until he was overcome. But the ensuing period will show that the Church itself in the course of these hard struggles assumed another form.

We notice the first tendencies in this direction as early as the post-apostolic period. A college of elders or bishops had formerly stood at the head of the communities (cf. above, p. 171). We now find in the letters of Ignatius (cf. above, p. 177) mention of a single bishop. His epistle to the Romans tells us, indeed, that this innovation was not yet introduced in that community. The letter of Polycarp shows the same thing regarding the community at Philippi. But the communities in Asia Minor were already under *one* bishop, with presbyters and deacons below him. Was it, perhaps, the apostle John who in these communities, where he had gone to minister after Paul's death (cf. above, p. 170), introduced the arrangement, which he had learnt to value at Jerusalem (cf. above, p. 170), in order to have a responsible representative in those places where he could not be present personally? This is suggested by the circumstance that each of the seven "circular letters" in his Apocalypse is addressed to one "angel" of the community in Asia Minor. In any case, the new feature soon gained increasing ground for itself. The greater the dangers which threatened the communities from without and from within, the more was the wish felt for a central administration. And since there was no longer any question of a divinely revealed order, men allowed themselves to be led by the new-felt need of adopting a new form. From the fear that divisions might arise in the communities, Ignatius on his way to death warned them urgently to hold fast to their connection with the bishop. Yet he did not thereby set forth a theory that men should subject themselves blindly to bishops as such. On the contrary,

since he knew that these bishops, to whose communities he addressed himself, were true "overseers," bishops after God's heart, he writes, "whoever does not follow the will of the bishops opposes the will of God." But later the views as to the importance of the office were changed, for it was only too easy to understand such utterances to mean that all bishops were representatives of God by virtue of their office. The later extension of meaning taught this.

A second point arose in post-apostolic times: What was more natural than that the man who desired baptism should pronounce in some way or other his assent to the Christian faith? At first this must have been done in the shortest form, some addition to the formula adopted by the baptiser, "I baptise thee in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost," which is also prescribed in the "Teaching of the Apostles." If, then, heresies had to be rejected, short explanatory sentences were certainly added to that brief expression. Thus a rule of faith was formed which served to distinguish, as it were, the universal faith from perversions of it. The significance of this countersign was bound to increase as the number of those who desired to be received into the Church grew greater, and as, therefore, it became more desirable to possess a short epitome of that which constituted the Christian faith. Such epitomes were at first, as might be expected, different in the different countries. But the increase of intercourse between the various communities made it necessary to adjust such differences by accepting sentences that appeared important and were customary elsewhere, and by excluding what was too comprehensive. In the conviction that they were expressing nothing else in such sentences than what the founders of the Church, the apostles, had taught, this rule of faith was called "the apostolic confession of faith." In any case, before the middle of the second century some such "creed" was in use, almost exactly like that in use at the present time. This could not have been first composed in Rome, but must have been based on a confession originating in the East.

We notice the beginnings of a third action of the Church. The sacred Scriptures of the Jews were accepted by the Christians as inspired by the spirit of God. Extracts from them were read aloud in the services. Together with these came letters of the apostle Paul and other works of Christian authors. In order to multiply the available materials for the edification of the public, the communities exchanged such writings among themselves. When the original apostles were dead and the "prophets" became fewer, these writings replaced what was lost. At the same time also the need arose of not permitting all and every Christian writing to be read aloud at divine service, but of examining whether by age and contents it was suitable for the purpose. This question became still more weighty when the Gnostics attempted to secure the recognition of their heresies by means of edited or forged writings; and when Marcion, a Christian, enthusiastic for Paul (c. 150), wished to find distortions of the true Christianity in a series of writings which up till then had been reckoned apostolic, and rejected some and mutilated others. The important point now was that everything which, as dating from the foundation of the Church must count as apostolic, whether composed by an apostle himself or by another witness of the earliest times, should be definitely separated from other literature, nor was it material whether the contents of such literature were orthodox or tainted with heresy. The problem was to construct a "canon." Of course, collections of this

kind did not at first agree in the different communities or territories, for the very good reason that the separate writings, being composed for definite persons or circles of readers, were first of all known and spread in definite countries. Only gradually did a more frequent exchange lead to greater agreement. The first list of this kind which is extant — unfortunately, in mutilated form, and, therefore, not to be certainly defined as to its extent — called after its discoverer, Ludovico Antonio Muratori, the “Muratorian canon,” contained twenty-two out of the twenty-seven writings collected in the present New Testament, and is said to have been made in Rome (c. 180). Some one hundred and thirty years later we learn, through the Church historian, Eusebius, that not even then were all the writings in our present New Testament popularly recognised: the decision was still wavering over the Epistle of St. James, the two Epistles of Peter, the second and third Epistles of St. John, and the Epistle of Jude. In 360 Athanasius put forth a tract, in which these writings also were reckoned canonical without further discussion.

The Church thus sought to win a firmer position and fixed standards, that it might not lose its course and be wrecked in the overpowering fury of the waves. It is on the way to become the Catholic Church.

D. THE RISE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH (c. 180-248)

ALTHOUGH during the previous period the Christians had been an oppressed and cruelly persecuted body, they were not exterminated. “The blood of the martyrs had been the seed of the Church.” The rage of the storm was spent. It would seem that men had grown weary of murder as an ineffective measure. It is true that the existing law made the trial of Christians possible, and that bloody persecutions still occurred, but a period of comparative rest had been entered on. Men, moreover, ascended the imperial throne who lacked the moral power to hate a religion. The Roman bishop, Victor, was able to acquire influence over the profligate Commodus (180-192). Septimus Severus (211) took a Christian slave, to whom he owed his cure, into his palace and protected the Christians who held high posts round him, and he is said to have given a Christian nurse to his son, Caracalla. The Christian author, Hippolytus, carried on a correspondence with the second wife of Elagabalus. Severus Alexander placed the pictures of Abraham and Jesus among his household gods in the Lararium “The maxims of the Master came readily to his lips.” Over a room in his palace he had the saying of Christ written up: “Do unto others what you would that they should do unto you!” The empress-mother was on intimate terms with the famous teacher of the Church, Origen. Philip the Arabian (244-249) is said actually to have been a Christian: and even if it were only a legend, yet what a change it was that such a story could have been told and believed!

The sword of Damocles, hanging over the Christian name, which had formerly kept so many back from Christianity, and which had served closely to sift the communities, now seemed to have been taken away. The heathen now pressed in masses into the Church. Once it had been the aim of the Christians to rescue individuals from the “world which lay in wickedness” for the approaching day of Judgment; and not to bow before the power of the enemy, but to regard the martyr’s crown as the noblest ornament. Now, they ventured to think (as

Origen writes), that all other religions would perish and that the divine truth would in the end rule alone on earth.

In what a new aspect appear the chiefs, especially of the Christian communities! How greatly has the importance of these pastors increased through the growth of the flock, through the increase of the burden of work laid on them, especially as these large communities, constantly feeling less inclination to act themselves, entrusted all church work to the bishops! The presbyters and deacons proved soon insufficient to manage everything. Thus in the second quarter of the third century new officials were created for the performance of the inferior services, i.e. subdeacons, readers, exorcists, and acolytes. But in order that the single guidance might be secured, the offices formed a graduated system, at the head of which stood the one bishop. Formerly this office had been regarded as a hard test of loving service towards the community, and the only privilege of the leader had been to die first in the fight. Now, it might be reckoned an honour, flattering to pride, to stand at the head of these great communities, recruiting themselves from the highest ranks in the empire. The rights of the office now became a prerogative. Rivalry between the priests and the laymen became possible. Tertullian, who wished to check this development, could now exclaim wrathfully and prove by the manner of his protest that the new movement had touched him already, "Are not laymen priests? Where three are, there is the Church, even though they be laymen." But how could the tendency be checked? If these masses were to be held together, submission to the bishops must be exacted. And in order to justify this unwonted claim, the bishops were clothed with the same honour which men had been accustomed to show to the apostles, the founders of the Church.

A second cause hastened this development. Men appealed to the Holy Scriptures and to the rules of faith, in order to refute the heretics. But how was it to prove to them that such standards really dated from the first origin of Christianity? No one was alive whose memory reached back to that age. Was there, then, no substitute for such witnesses? Tertullian writes: "Make inquiry among the apostolic churches, among those especially where the chairs from which the apostles taught still stand in their place, where the originals of their letters are still read aloud." But what persons in these communities could give the most certain information? Evidently the bishops. The apostles had placed such men as pastors in the communities founded by them, and the latter had again appointed as their successors the men who had absorbed most accurately the original doctrine. The unbroken succession of these officials guaranteed in the earliest times certain information on points about which men could, unfortunately, no longer inquire from the apostles themselves. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, was a pupil of Polycarp, who had sat at the feet of the apostle John. As in consequence of this he himself was able to say what the original faith was, he declared it as a general rule (c. 180) that the heads of the apostolic communities were qualified, by virtue of their succession in office, to state the truth. He was not speaking of any power of infallibility handed down to them from the apostles; he meant only that such communities, and especially their heads, were in possession of historical knowledge valuable in the struggle against the heretics. As an instance, "since it would take too long to relate the succession in office of all churches," he mentions the "greatest, oldest, and best-known,"

community, that of Rome. An inquiry made of them alone would certainly be sufficient, since naturally all other communities in which the apostolic tradition was preserved would agree with its answer.

But, indeed, such innocently intended phrases might well be misinterpreted. when the inroad of the masses and the rush of different ideas into the Church rendered desirable a stricter organisation and some governing body with authority to decide on disputed questions! How easily could these words be read to mean that the bishop's office was the bearer of the truth! Another sentence of Irenæus could then be distorted: "Where the Church is, there is the spirit of God. To be outside the Church is to be outside the truth." Thus he writes after he has demonstrated that the "preaching of the Church is uniformly the truth as testified by the apostles, and the teaching of that which is outside the Church is 'perverted' truth." He adds, however: "And where the spirit of God is, there is the Church; but the spirit is the truth." He only declares the clearly proven fact that truth is to be found in the Church, and not among the heretics. But that sentence, torn away from the context, carried a great thesis in itself, since by the "Church" was understood the external corporation of the Church to which the bishops guaranteed the apostolic truth. It was but a short step to the next proposition, that the Church was formed by the bishops, and truth and salvation were only to be found in connection with them. At this time, too, the desire for a visible unity of all communities became continually stronger. How, then, was order to be maintained in these great communities which were in perpetual flux, if identical doctrines and identical procedure did not link them together? The name "Catholic Church" is found, indeed, in Ignatius; but he meant by it the ideal aggregate community, scattered throughout the whole world (*Καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης*) in contradistinction to the individual community. But now it was desired to mold the aggregate into a comprehensible, definite unity, in order that each individual might know to what to hold fast, and not be led astray. What else could represent this unity except the office of bishop?

Hippolytus, the pupil of Irenæus, already declares the bishops to be the *diadochi* (successors) of the apostles, participating in the same grace of the high priesthood and of teaching as they did. In the middle of the third century Cyprian, bishop of Carthage (248-258), elaborates the thoughts of his time as to the existence of a church into a self-contained system. That is true of the bishops which Christ said to the apostles filled with the spirit of God, "Whoever hears you, hears me." Only through the bishops are the divine mercies communicated to us. They have also to decide to whom the divine gifts belong. They are not merely administrators, but judges in the Church. They are thus what the priests were among the Jews. At an earlier time the Jewish priesthood had been employed as a comparison. The "apostolic teaching" had called the "prophets" who came forward in the communities the "high priests of Christ" as a justification of their claim on the community for their bodily needs. Since, they said, the prophets serve the Christian community spiritually, it is just to pay them tithes, as the Jews paid their priests. Now, the duties incumbent on the bishops were considered priestly, and the bishops were regarded as priests. Only they might administer the mysteries (sacraments) of baptism and the Lord's Supper. Their offering at the Lord's Supper was a sacrifice.

Formerly the gift of the bread and wine for this holy meal, brought by the community, was called the sacrifice of the community. In the same way the prayers of the Christians, in particular the prayer at the Lord's Supper, were designated a sacrifice. But the priest offers the *body* and *blood* of Christ as a sacrifice to God. "The priest imitates what Christ has done when He offered himself to the Father." The bishops are regarded as holding their high office from God himself, although the community may have co-operated in their election. It is, therefore, presumption to assume that a bishop is not worthy of his office. He acts, therefore, from the "inspiration of the Holy Ghost." Thus believers are bound to the bishops. The unity of the Church is represented in them. The old conception is forgotten, according to which the "number of believers" is the Church, and "one Lord, one faith, one baptism," makes a man member of this Church. Not every one who, by virtue of the faith and the baptism, has the one Lord belongs to the Church; but "whosoever has not the Church as mother cannot have God as father." "Outside the Church is no salvation." And this Church is the outward community, represented by the bishops. Only he who submits to the episcopacy stands in the Church. If any man were outside this Church, it would avail him nothing, even though he held the faith in common with the Church, even if he were to be martyred for this faith: he is as helpless to save himself as he who was outside the ark of Noah.

To sustain this claim it was necessary that all bishops should desire and command one and the same thing. As early as 180-200 the representatives of the communities here and there felt the need of counsel as to their official action in difficult questions. They held synods. It was naturally the political capital of a province where assemblies were held, and it was the bishop of this town who made preparations for it and assumed the presidency. It thus followed, as a matter of course, that the metropolitan gradually came to be regarded as the unifying force of the episcopacy of the province. Of the capitals, some had peculiar importance in the eyes of the Christians. Rome was not only the capital of the world, but it held the bones of Peter and Paul, the apostolic princes. Alexandria, the second city of the empire, was renowned as the seat of Christian learning (cf. below, pp. 189, 190). Antioch, the third city of the empire, had long had the apostle Paul for its teacher. Ephesus numbered a specially large Christian community, and Paul, as well as John, had long been at its head. The countries round Carthage received the Gospel from it. Assuredly in any disputed questions it was more valuable to have the bishop of such a community on one's side than the bishop of some unknown place. There was, indeed, at first no claim of prerogatives, but the urban bishops already enjoyed a higher estimation. It was the beginning of the patriarchate system, of the visible unity of several provinces. Soon there would be the sole problem, that of fixing a central point for the aggregate of *all* churches. One bishop already asserted a claim to such a position, the bishop of Rome. Who knows whether Cyprian, if he had been bishop of Rome, would not have crowned the fabric of his church with the claim that the Roman bishop was the high priest placed over all priests? But he was bishop of Carthage, and had not always agreed with the decisions of the bishop of Rome; and, therefore, most vehemently opposed the claim of Rome to the primacy over all other churches. Yet Cyprian's longing not merely to imagine the episcopacy as a unity, but actually to see it, was so great that he, at least,

put forward the proposition that Christ intended the episcopacy to be *one* in investing Peter with all the powers enjoyed by the other apostles. Thus the successor of Peter, the bishop of Rome, represents the unity of the bishops and with it that of the Church. This Roman community, the community of Peter, was, indeed, that "from which the unity of the bishops took its origin," which more than all others strove for unity among the bishops. What men dreaded, then, was, nevertheless, greatly desired. Doubtless, the desire would prevail over the dread. It would cost hard struggles, because now office in the Church was regarded as a privilege and was valued as the highest calling and carried highest honour. But the whole course of events set irresistibly towards the establishment of a primacy.

As a firmly compacted unity the Church might better hope to keep together, to lead, and to educate the masses that were pressing into it, even such as were as yet little moved by the Christian spirit. It is not strange that now the whole rule of faith, which was originally a mere declaration of the existing creed, was fixed more and more as a *law* of faith, to which all must submit who wished to belong to the Church. But personal belief could not be coerced, and no one wished to bar . . . admission into the Church. What was left, then, except to be content with the absence of spoken opposition to the Church? And what was more natural than to regard the submission to the law of faith established by the Church as the badge of Christianity? Many pagans, especially the educated men among them, could not yet reconcile themselves to this rule of faith. But men were already hopeful that the whole world would become Christian, and an attempt was, therefore, made to bring the belief of the Church as near as possible to the educated among its disparagers and to force it on their convictions. It was necessary to reduce Christian doctrine to a complete system which could be compared with the systems of the heathen philosophers. Where could this need have been more keenly felt than in Alexandria, that most prominent abode of Hellenic learning? No one, unless familiar with this and able to reconcile philosophy, could hope to influence wider circles. There was a second incentive. Gnosticism dazzled many men, for it promised a deep knowledge not accessible to all. If it was to be defeated, it must be shown that pure Christianity granted wisdom and knowledge.

What a task was set by this! It was desired to give a scientific form to the Christian doctrine, and yet the only available method of scientific thought was that of Hellenic philosophy. It was necessary to try how far this was adapted to the statement of Christianity, and everything had to be excluded which originated in the heathen conceptions of the world. This required not merely extraordinary acuteness of thought, but also an absolutely pure knowledge of Christianity. Those who first set about the gigantic work could pride themselves on the former qualification, but not on the latter. For everywhere in the Church there was now present a dimness of conception regarding the nature of Christianity. Precisely those doctrines which the apostle Paul had expressed in so clear a manner, forming as they did the kernel of what was essentially Christianity, were all but forgotten (cf. above, pp. 169, 170). It might seem the conception of "faith" was so changed that it no longer could take the predominant place which Jesus and Paul had assigned to it. In its room a code of morals had entered which might be termed a mixture of Jewish and heathen ethics.

Thus one fundamental difference between paganism and Christianity was no longer recognised, and conceptions and ideas common in the heathen philosophy were unhesitatingly employed to expound Christianity. The result would have been a complete change in Christianity, if at the same time the conviction had not been firm that the Holy Scriptures of the early period were based on divine revelation, and, therefore, must be maintained as the foundation. Their decisive utterances would, no doubt, have been completely misinterpreted by means of the favourite allegorical explanation, had not the short sentences of the rule of faith, universally handed down as unassailable, raised too loud a protest. The creed of the Church saved the Church from complete degeneration.

Pantænus, Clemens, Origen, worked in this line in the school at Alexandria. They made the conception of the "Logos," which is borrowed (according to its contents) from Greek Philosophy, the central point of their theology. This is the absolute reason, the principle which binds God to the world. It was also operative in the heathen world. The Platonic philosophy derived truth from the "Logos." In Christianity, again, the "Logos" has become man, and, therefore, the full and pure truth is present in it. Thus a saving bridge was constructed from paganism to Christianity. It did not need a leap to go from the wisdom of the world to the faith of the Christian, only one step, a step forward.

The Catholic Church is born. Christianity has lost simplicity of faith, but has gained unity of organisation. The church system has interposed itself as mediator of salvation between God and man, but, on the other hand, has attained the possibility of communicating to the great mass some of the benefits of salvation. The danger is lest communion with the Church take the place of communion with God; but as admission into the communion of the Church is made easier, the way is afforded to those who are dissatisfied with the world of pressing on to communion with God. But before this new position is completely attained a raging tempest bursts rendering everything doubtful.

E. THE FINAL STRUGGLE AND VICTORY (c. 248-327)

THE last seventy years had taught incontestably that to let Christianity alone was merely to further its supremacy. It had been seen as well that partial persecutions were useless, and, indeed, merely afforded the Christians the opportunity to prove the constancy of their faith and to make new conquests. It had been made clear that the struggle between paganism and Christianity was one of life and death. And perhaps it was already too late for the former to conquer. But was the world still capable of enthusiasm for the heathen faith? Had not the old belief in the gods long since been shaken and now shattered by the ridicule of the Christian writers? Yet religion was more necessary now than ever. Warmed by the brightly glowing fire of Christian faith, the yearning for the Invisible had flared up again in the hearts of many who had felt themselves contented by none of the religions known to them and had turned their backs on metaphysics. Numbers, however, thus awakened from religious indifference, did not wish to turn to Christianity, for they hated it. Yet they could no longer despise it. The Christians had many advantages over them — joyous enthusiasm, consciousness of their communion with God, the sense of elevation above the

world. If men wished to raise up enthusiastic opponents to Christianity, they must purify the old faith from the notions which have brought it into contempt, and give it the advantages of Christianity. Thus arose the last form of the Greek philosophy, the first philosophy formed in opposition to Christianity, Neo-Platonism, founded by Ammonius Saccas (died 241), elaborated by his scholar, Plotinus (died 270).

Much surprise has been caused by the hostility between Neo-Platonism and Christianity. As if anything but a struggle for life and death could prevail between the real faith and a substitute, pursuing the object of driving out the former! All religions, barbarian, as well as the Jewish, are justified in so far as they strive towards the true religion. Christianity alone makes no defence of this kind, for it proclaims itself the only true religion and denies the right of all others to exist. Thus all religions of the world might unite in Neo-Platonism and unite in a struggle against Christianity. All that Christianity promises to give, elevation above the world and communion with God, this philosophy gives. Let the soul free itself from the limitations of the senses, and it will immediately be one with the original Divine Being. Porphyry (died 304), the pupil of Plotinus, makes a further attempt to see if the Christians will not allow themselves to be drawn into the porticos of the Neo-Platonists. He wrote fifteen books, the title of which is variously translated, "about the Christians" or "against the Christians." They might confidently continue, said Porphyry, to reverence their founder, from whom they take their name, for he was a wise and holy man. But his disciples have altered the truths preached by him and have made him a god against his will. The Christians must place no belief in their holy writings, for these contain contradictions and improbabilities.

The ill success of such attempts at proselytism resulted merely in determining men not to shrink from quite other weapons, in order to wipe Christianity from off the earth. The emperors after Philip the Arabian were filled with pain and anger at the decay of the empire. Their object was to restore its old power and splendour, and for this unity in worship was essential. In 249 Decius mounted the throne. He first formed the plan of systematically extirpating Christianity. The system of espionage on the Christians set by order of the state and forbidden by Trajan (cf. above, p. 179), was now reinstated. The decree of the year 250 orders that throughout the empire the Christians be forced to take part in the state religion. The priests were to be immediately put to death as presumably incorrigible, the others to be made humble by continually increasing penalties. Heavy punishment would fall on the prefect who did not bring back the Christians of his district to the old religion. What a thunderbolt for the Christians! And it burst, too, on a community grown effeminate and full of half Christians, owing to the entry of masses of the people. When, therefore, torture and death suddenly threatened, many acted as if they could not purify themselves quickly enough of the suspicion of being Christians. Others, with bleeding heart, consented to offer incense to the gods. Others, again, tried to extenuate their back-sliding to themselves by bribing the officials, in order to get a certificate that they had satisfied the imperial orders.

But, strange to say, many of those who separated themselves from the Christians by a definite renunciation were not yet in a position to return to the pagans. They wished themselves back in the community from which fear had driven

them. They implored to be taken back. They knew that in that case they were again threatened by what only now they had been too weak to endure. They knew that they must undergo an ordeal of repentance, lasting, perhaps, many years in shame and privation, before they were again received into the Church, and enabled to suffer torture or death for their faith. And yet they could not do otherwise; they could not live without that which once had inspired them.

And by the side of the weak ones what proofs of heroism! The victims in Alexandria were not less numerous than in Rome. The constancy of the boy, Dioscurus, under all his torments was so great that even the governor, full of wonder and pity, set him free. In the Thebais a Christian and his wife hung for days on the cross, speaking words of encouragement to each other. In Jerusalem and Antioch the bishops died after enduring tortures manfully. At Carthage the prison was filled with Christians, whom the officials wished to force to renunciation through hunger and thirst. They were no longer content with the ordinary tortures, but devised new and ingenious torments. It was the heroic endurance of the constant that exasperated them most. Formerly they thought they had conquered when they had shown their power over the life of the Christians. They now felt that there could be no talk of victory unless the Christians were brought to renounce their faith. The martyr who died bravely triumphed over agony, death, and his murderers: only he who drew back from the instruments of torture or from death was a conquered man. This led to the new sort of warfare, i.e. to kill only those who could not be conquered themselves and encouraged others, but to compel the rest, by unwearying persistence and perpetually renewed torments to abandon the castle of their faith.

As if the enlightenment and humanity of the age were ashamed of this brutality, a short period of tranquillity commenced with the death of Decius (251). And although Valerian (253-260), with the greatest resolution, planned the annihilation of the Christians, he first tried to attain his purpose by less ferocious means. The Christian communities were to be, as it were, spiritually starved out, in order that they might break up from internal weakness. The bishops were removed and all assemblies of Christians forbidden. Thus the law of 258 ordered that all bishops, presbyters, and deacons, as well as senators and knights, should be executed, if after confiscation of their property they did not give up their faith. Noble women were to be banished, Christians in the imperial service were to work in chains on the emperor's estates. In this persecution Cyprian suffered death at Carthage. But though very many bishops and presbyters were slain, the desired object was not reached. When Valerian was taken captive by the Persians, his successor, Gallienus, gave up the profitless contest. For some forty years the Christians had rest. Their numbers once more grew mightily. There was no longer need to search for Christians, they were met everywhere; in the army there were Christian officers, among the servants of the state there were Christians up to the governors themselves; there were Christian courtiers round the emperor. Finally there was even a rumour that the wife and daughter of the emperor, Diocletian, wished to be baptised.

After 284 Diocletian was on the throne. He succeeded in what his predecessors had failed, in restoring strength and unity to the shattered empire. He was able to form the unwieldy Roman empire into an organised structure. The greater the joy experienced by all who carried within them the old Roman

spirit, the more must they have felt it a contradiction that in the sphere of religion the most varied diversity prevailed. A Neo-Platonic state church was now the goal of the friends of unity. The Bithynian governor, Hierocles, especially sought to propagate this idea. He addressed two books of "truth-loving words to the Christians." The use of other means than words and truth, the exercise of rude force, to overcome the Christians, accorded but little with the lofty morality of the Neo-Platonist and his conception of man's union with God. But what of the present time, when it appeared that words were in vain? If this noble virtue of Neo-Platonism could only prevail universally after annihilation of Christianity, were other weapons then to be shunned? Hierocles found an enthusiastic partisan and helper in the emperor, Galerius. The emperor, it is true, was not ready for such a step; he was the son of a Dalmatian bond-woman and subject to the superstition of his race. To the question whether action should be taken against the Christians, the oracle of Apollo at Miletus gave the answer that the Christians made it impossible to declare the truth. The emperor gave way to the pressure, insisting only that no blood should be shed. Galerius ventured to have the Christian church at Nicomedia stormed and destroyed by his Praetorians (February, 303). On the next day a decree was publicly posted up. All Christian churches were to be demolished, all Christian books burnt, every Christian meeting prohibited. All who persisted in the Christian faith were to lose their offices, and the free to become slaves. A Christian, carried away by indignation, tore down the decree. He was cruelly tortured and executed. Fire twice broke out in the imperial palace, and the blame was laid upon the Christians. Insurrections occurred in Armenia and Syria, and the Christians were supposed to have instigated them. Thus the opposition of the emperor was overcome. The Christian officials of the court were required to abandon their faith. Their steadfastness irritated the emperor, so that his disinclination to shed blood disappeared. One decree followed another until the final order that all Christians should be forced by every means to sacrifice. "If I had a hundred tongues, and every tongue of metal," writes a Christian author of those days, "they would not suffice to describe all the cruelties, to name all the tortures which were inflicted by the judges on the righteous and the unrighteous." The different methods of death, which men did not shrink to employ, cannot be repeated. The empire was drenched with streams of Christian blood. At times the arm of the murderer appeared weary; but when in times of rest it was seen that all the previous fury had not led to any result, the enemies of Christianity gathered their strength again, in order to end the war of annihilation. Their blind rage at their want of success led men to have recourse to the expedient of pouring the wine or water used at sacrifices over the articles of food in the market, so that the Christians who could not be compelled to sacrifice still tasted something of the sacrifice. The persecution lasted eight years.

Galerius, attacked by a dread disease, issued shortly before his death, in 311, a decree for the east of the empire, ordering the toleration of the Christian religion. He does not recognise them as privileged, his wish still is that the Christians should willingly return to the faith of their fathers. But he has seen that nothing is able to force them to it, and that the result of his efforts has been the reverse of that which he wished to attain; the Christians now show no

reverence to any god, to his gods because they do not choose, to their God because they do not dare. The interest of the state requires the prayers of all for the state. It is thus to be seen that "they become Christians again, and again hold their meetings for divine service," in order that they may pray to their God for the emperor and the empire. A toleration reluctantly conceded out of a feeling of personal impotence before this incomprehensible resistance of faith — that was what the dying man gave. The prisons were opened, the crowds of the tortured prisoners returned to their homes welcomed even by the heathen "with pity and rejoicing."

In the west of the empire the emperor, Constantius Chlorus, had "contented himself with the destruction of the temple, but had spared the temple made of men." The victorious progress of his son, Constantine, caused the persecution gradually to cease throughout the whole West, and gave to the Christian Church the edict of Milan, which surpassed all expectations (313). What made Constantine the liberator and patron of the Church? When he started from Gaul for the South, his religion was probably nothing else than the vague monotheism of his era, which had kept his father from hating the Christians and venting his fury on them. Later it became a warm interest in Christianity, an unmistakable conviction of its truth. The dark stains in his moral life do not give us the right to consider him a conscious hypocrite. For even the actual conviction of the truth of Christianity does not make it at all impossible that morality lagged behind knowledge, especially in a Roman emperor accustomed to boundless license. That Constantine was only baptised on his death-bed was nothing unusual at a time when Christians thought to gain by baptism forgiveness only for their past sins, and the necessity for the act might have been brought home the more to the emperor, in that he was well aware of his moral deficiencies. The fact that, although long considered a Christian even by Christians, he did not wish to die without receiving baptism, might be adduced as proof that he expected something from the Church for the next world; that he was concerned about the remission of his sins, and that, therefore, not mere political considerations determined his attitude towards the Church.

When did Constantine first turn with interest to Christianity? Judging by the difference between the edict of 312 and that at the beginning of 313, his opinion must have altered during that interval. He bases his "intervention for the Christian Community" in the decree at Milan on the hope that in return "the divine favour which he has experienced in such great things will at all times bring him success and safety." He must, therefore, have already experienced God's help in such a way that it was clear to him God was for the Christians. In support of this view, we first find the cross, as the badge under which Constantine fights and conquers, in the war against Maxentius. And after his victory over this opponent he causes to be erected in Rome the statue of himself holding in his hand the cross as "the salvation-bringing badge under which he freed the city from the yoke of the tyrant." He could hardly have made this declaration merely out of political considerations; for he no longer needed to win the Christians for himself, and could only estrange the heathen by the act. But if the conviction had been forced on him before the battle with Maxentius that God was for the Christians, and that their cross was a salvation-bringing badge, we shall not have to relegate to the realm of legends what Eusebius is

said to have learnt from the emperor himself on the subject, that as he stood confronting his powerful opponent and meditated as to what god he should summon to help him he received the order to conquer in the sign of the cross. Therefore, he looked with superstitious reverence on this symbol, and thought to gain God's favour for himself by showing favour to the Christians. His victories under the new banner strengthened him in this belief, so that in inward conviction also he approaches nearer and nearer to Christianity. If we reflect how vastly predominant the pagans of the empire were at the accession of Constantine, and how the last terrible persecution had driven the Christians from all higher posts; if we reflect further how little he actually did for the repression of heathendom and for the supremacy of Christendom, his conviction that the future belonged to Christianity cannot be thus explained merely as a stroke of genius, but must rest on a firm belief of the superior strength of the Christian faith. And then also his hope that the religious unity in the empire, to be obtained by Christianity, would bring with it a civic unity, would not seem a misuse of the Church for political ends. In reality, he never wished to do more than to render it possible for the Church to develop all her forces absolutely unfettered, in the expectation that then paganism would decay and the state flourish.

This was the state of his mind when he issued the edict of Milan in 313. In concert with Licinius he conceded by it religious freedom for the entire Roman empire, and that not reluctantly, but rather considering his action as the only just course. The Roman state abandoned its former view that religion was an affair of state. Constantine relegated it to the sphere to which it belongs, according to Christian notions, the conscience. In acting in this manner he acted in the "interests of public peace." He recognised that the state can never be quiet if there is a living religious spirit present. Yet religion is, nevertheless, to be controlled by the state. For the sake of the public peace men had often and terribly wreaked their fury on Christianity, because it roused the conscience, and thereby created a spirit of intolerable independence. On the same ground: conscience was now declared to be free. How had Christianity transformed the ideas of the old world! The emperors proclaim the principle laid down by Christ: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." But if no one was to suffer from the fact that he was a Christian, the Christian Church must also be granted the same privileges which the previous state religion had enjoyed. Constantine issued, first for his own dominions and then, after the conquest of his last opponent, Licinius (234), for the whole empire, a series of laws, by which the Church became a protected and a favoured estate. That which lately was hated as the deadly enemy of the state was now formed into a most important element in the organism of the public life. The priests were freed from public burdens, especially from the oppressive services and payments in kind and from the liability of filling the municipal offices. The property of the Church was secured by the grant of corporate rights to the Church, and was increased not merely by donations from the emperor, but also by the legal decision that legacies in favour of the Church were valid. The law recognised the right of the bishops to act as judges over members of their communities in civil matters and fully to exercise the power of punishing their priests. The privilege of sanctuary was also conceded to

Christian churches. Sunday was recognised as a holy day, on which public state affairs, e.g. law suits, were to be suspended. The state gave the force of law to resolutions passed by the Church and lent its authority to aid in carrying them out. Something of the Christian spirit already entered into the secular legislature. The face of man, created in the image of God, was no more to be branded. The criminal who had forfeited his life was no longer to be despatched in a cruel fashion by crucifixion or by tearing in pieces by the teeth of wild beasts. Children might no longer be sold. How great a change! There had been times when the Christians would have feared such rich gifts as a gift of the Danai. Just now the Church had become Catholic. Just now it had been prostrate under the headman's axe. Men could only rejoice. We must pardon the Christians who lived to see this change, if Constantine seemed to them "as a heavenly messenger sent by God," and if they could not see his stains because the glory which the Church had gained through him dazzled their eyes.

Constantine also gave the Church that which up till now it had lacked sadly, a formal bond of unity. The cardinal point of the Church's rule of faith was the acknowledgment of "Jesus Christ, begotten Son of God, our Lord." Granted that at first men assented to this profession as taken from the writings of primitive times in the Church, and as corresponding to the Christian consciousness of the incomparable majesty of the Saviour, yet as decades of peace came (since circa 180) and the number of educated men in the Church increased, the necessity must have been felt of determining definitely to what was expressed and what excluded by those phrases. Say that Christians exulted because they had vanquished polytheism and had found the one God; would not this conquest be endangered by the other proposition that Christ, Son of God, *was* God? Some thought that the unity of God could only be maintained by the assumption that the one God had taken human form in Christ, and as such was called "Son of God." Others did not wish Christ to be taken as God himself. The latter view especially was contested and rejected. But when the Church finally obtained peace under Constantine, the presbyter Arius in Alexandria renewed this false doctrine in a form which somewhat more closely approached the view of the Church. Christ, he said, was not a mere man, but the manifestation of a higher spiritual Being, created by God, and, therefore, in its nature unlike (*anhomoios*) God. The flames of this dispute blazed brightly. Constantine saw it with deep sorrow. He had hoped that in the future the one religion which he thought the best would prevail in the entire Roman empire, and that through it the unity of the empire would be firmly established. Now the adherents of this religion which was to heal all divisions were divided! He implored the Church at Alexandria, in a letter, to desist from such disputes over secondary points, but in vain. How was this concord to be restored? Only a general conference of all the bishops could lead to the desired end. The emperor resolved to make this possible and to summon an imperial synod. He did not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of the Church nor to prescribe its decision; but since it did not as yet possess any agent representing the whole community, he wished to give it the means of deliberating and deciding as a united body. Thus he invited attendance at the meeting and defrayed the expenses of the delegates for travelling and lodging out of the public treasury. From June to August, 325, this first "Ecumenical Council" sat at Nicaea in Bithynia. Among the three-

hundred and eighteen members, some of whom were present only for a part of the time, there were a Persian and a Gothic bishop from the West, which was less agitated by this dispute, naturally few (six) appeared. At the opening and more than once during the conferences, Constantine himself spoke, in order to urge peace. And after the terrible storms of the persecutions — many of those present still bore conspicuous traces on their bodies of the torments they had endured — the sunshine of imperial favour was too sweet to allow all present to maintain their independence. Constantine was not to blame if "for the sake of peace and out of regard for the imperial will" even those who did not find their own conviction expressed in the final confession of faith (Christ is co-substantial with the Father: *homousios*) declared themselves satisfied with it. Only two bishops supported Arius in opposition. The emperor gave to the resolutions of the synod the force of law. The opposite view was, therefore, illegal, and banishment was inflicted on those who refused to abandon it.

In this manner the Church arrived at an outward expression of the unity of the episcopacy, so long desired. The community which had formerly been held together only by the bond of the same faith, the same love, the same hope, had now become the imperial Church, possessing a uniform outward government. Thus the question whether one bishop should be regarded as first among all, was put for the moment into the background. The matter was not pressing. In this first general council neither the bishop of Rome — his advanced age prevented him from taking part — nor the presbyters representing him presided. It is true the bishop of Rome had been granted the primacy over the churches of the political diocese of Rome, that is, over the greatest part of central Italy and all Lower Italy, with Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, but nothing more. Would this state of things continue? Would the successors of Constantine refrain as much as he did from direct interference in the internal affairs of the Church? Would not a church which had already so thoroughly carried out the principle of rank and subordination be in the end forced to declare above all others one bishop, who should maintain himself absolutely independent in the face of worldly potentates? But Rome had already found a rival. The emperor had removed his court to the town in the East bearing his name. If the Roman community acquired its high reputation, as there is no doubt, chiefly because it lay in the centre of the empire, would not the bishop of the new capital be still more highly exalted by the splendour of the Christian emperor? Or perhaps, on the contrary, the very proximity of the emperor will prevent him from soaring so high. Before we take up this question again (cf. below, p. 203) and touch on the doctrinal disputes connected with it in the imperial Church, let us notice what changes the ecclesiastical life has undergone in consequence of the revolution effected by Constantine.

2. THE IMPERIAL CHURCH

A. THE ORGANISATION OF THE IMPERIAL CHURCH AFTER THE DEATH OF CONSTANTINE

OWING to Constantine, the Church had become the favoured religious body. Nothing now deterred men from entering it; much attracted men strongly towards it. There was some difficulty in keeping aloof from it. The dykes, as

it were, that protected it were broken through, and, unhindered, the turbid floods of those who were strange to the true religious spirit poured in. This, indeed, did not make the Church really poorer in Christian spirit, but immeasurably richer in unworthy members. To govern them so that they might all lead a life worthy of the Christian name, was completely impossible. The unholy "world" spread within the "Holy Church." The more earnest spirits were roused to protest all the more energetically against this unchristian life by the impressive eloquence of acts. The hour struck for the birth of monasticism.

Christianity required self-renunciation and the subdual of sinful desires. The more thorough the abhorrence felt by a Christian, snatched from pagan immorality, for intemperance and shameless license, the more easily could he bring himself to keep as far as possible from everything which the pagans boldly misused; and he could even find honour in denying himself such things as were not exactly forbidden, simply because natural desire impelled him to them. By the middle of the second century it could be pronounced as a universal Christian view that marriages were to be entered into not out of sexual inclination, but merely for the purpose of giving birth to children. To enter into a second marriage after the death of the husband was regarded by many as "respectable adultery," on the ground chiefly that natural desires might be excused in youth, but not in riper years. The highest merit, however, consisted in total abstention from sexual intercourse. Such views were able to mislead persons to exhibit fanciful displays of self-restraint. Ascetic maidens ventured to live with men of like feeling on such intimate terms that their virginity, preserved in spite of great temptations, revealed a laudable victory of the spirit over the flesh. Originally, indeed, such restraint was valued only as "askesis," as exercises, which were intended to strengthen the will power for the battle against sin. But because they were a proof of the earnestness of the feeling it might only too easily be thought that they were also in themselves meritorious practices, that the greatest possible subjection of natural desire and absence of passion was true Christianity. In quiet years between periods of persecution there came to the Church many members of whom such self-denial could not be expected, and whom the Church did not wish to reject. A twofold code of morality was then formulated. Under the complete code men abstained from marriage and abjured earthly possessions, in order to serve God alone. Under the other, men lived the ordinary life of the world, but avoided in it what was forbidden by God. It was supposed that this distinction was to be found in the Holy Scriptures of the early Christian time. The former code of morality followed the advice of the evangelists, the latter only the commandments.

But since the masses flowed into the Church, and with them came that immorality which formerly was seen only among the pagans, even the original form of the higher code of morality no longer seemed to the more earnest spirits a sufficient protest against the worldly feeling. The former ascetics had still remained in the body of the Church and of the state; but now men wished by open rupture with the worldly life, ruled by natural desires, to proclaim aloud that true Christianity despises the world. Flight from the world was put forward as the ideal. This error certainly brought a blessing with it. The enthusiasm for monasticism which was awakened by the growth of immorality in the Church was a constant protest against corruption, and prevented it from estab-

lishing itself in the Church and completely ruining it. For many, too, who dreaded a relapse into the pagan ways life in circles permeated with unchristian practices must have proved too strong a temptation. They had cause to fear for their Christianity if they remained in the old, and yet now so new, surroundings. Hence came that longing to withdraw into solitude even in those who ventured later to face again the storm of life. But, on the other hand, how greatly must the general conception of life have been influenced if such renunciation of the world was praised as the highest ideal; if the highest worth of Christianity consisted in contempt for the world! Neo-Platonism had not been able to conquer Christianity, either by learned writings or through brute force. But it had infused its spirit into its deadly enemy.

At first there were individuals who took refuge in the solitude of the Libyan Desert and lived as hermits for the sake of contemplation only. The example of Egypt was soon followed by Palestine, Syria, Armenia, Pontus, Cappadocia. Nothing was more natural than that the fame of some specially holy anchorite — as, for example, Anthony (died 356) — should induce other refugees from the world to settle in his neighbourhood. Thus were formed the monastic villages, the *Lauræ*. They met for common prayer and singing. But why should each individual have his own hut? Was it not simpler if a considerable number lived together in one house? Pachomius first suggested this. About the year 340 he founded on Tabennæ, an island in the Nile, a monastery which soon obtained great renown. Naturally a rule had to be prescribed for such a brotherhood. Pachomius instituted a uniform dress, common meals, fixed times for prayer, and required a vow of obedience to the head.

The evil results of the hermit life soon appeared, not only in licentiousness and coarseness, but also in the rise of new religious errors. Monasticism was hardly formed when it threatened to become a religious society, standing in opposition to the mass of the Church. The fruits of the view of "the worldly" which prevailed in the Church were now reaped. The Enehetes in Mesopotamia wished only to pray and beg. If it was perfection to possess nothing, then the most perfect thing was not to call anything one's own even for the briefest moment, and, therefore, not to earn anything by work. If praying was something higher than work, the highest thing was never to work, always to pray: and if such a monastic life was perfection, there was no longer any need of the former means of attaining perfection, of a divine law, of the Bible, or the sacraments. In such errors the Church found no perfect realisation of her teachings, but only a caricature of her own new ideas. Yet centuries elapsed before she quite eradicated them by persecution.

Another important movement originated with Eustathius of Sébaste (in Little Armenia) and spread to the neighbouring districts of Asia Minor. If celibacy was a higher state than marriage with its gratification of the natural impulse, then marriage was emphatically sin, and no married man could be saved. If all earthly possessions, all ornaments, all comfort, were something impure, then those only would be saved who abandoned all that was earthly. Thus women were not even permitted to wear the natural ornament of their hair or female dress, but had to erop their heads and put on men's clothes. A church which did not appreciate all this was a worldly church. The *Apostolicans* wished to restore the apostolic life, declared property, theft, and marriage,

sin. The *Audians* in Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Arabia blamed the Church for falling away from the true Christianity, because the monastic ideal was not realised by all in it. Even the author of the *Panarion*, the apothecary's chest, in which the antidote to eighty heresies is to be found, the strictly orthodox Epiphanius (died 403), stands as if lost in admiration at the sanctity of these *Audians* — so uncertain was the attitude of the Church towards these logical exponents of her own views. Indeed, the Church could have admired even the most incredible caricatures, if this contempt for the earthly had not become an attack on itself. The well-known Simeon in northern Syria first established a fame for fasting. He abstained from all food so long that he was at the point of death. Then he had an enclosure prepared and lay therein, fastened to a chain. At last they had to erect a pillar on this spot, on the summit of which he spent some thirty years. Both the pagan Bedouins and the Christians honoured him most highly: even in Rome small statues of this *stylite* were in demand as objects of great value. A large number of others imitated his hazardous feat. Soon every one lost the courage to blame such conduct. But the extravagances of monasticism in particular, amounting almost to hostility to the Church, induced at last the more thoughtful (as Basilius of Cappadocia, died 379), to devote themselves to the task of making the anchorites conform to a regulated cloister life and maintain some connection with the official church. They also endeavoured to get the monasteries removed from the deserts into the vicinity of the towns, a measure which led the monks to join in ecclesiastical disputes and to carry their own views by the reputation of their sanctity and occasionally by the use of their fists.

While some thus conceived asceticism to be the essence of monasticism, others emphasised in monasticism the opportunity for contemplation and observation of the inner condition of the soul. Individuals had withdrawn from the world, in order to purify more thoroughly the inner self and to raise it to God. They were obliged to think over the ways which led to union with God. This prepared the way for the monastic mysticism which was afterwards zealously practised, and which developed into an independent movement. As the first mystic we may mention Macarius (died 391), founder of the monastery in the Seetic Desert, in case he is really the author of the fifty homilies which pass under his name. In a somewhat later period the holy Nilus is conspicuous: he was born at Constantinople, gave up his high post, entrusted his wife and daughter to an Egyptian monastery, and settled with his son as an anchorite on Mount Sinai (died after 430). We possess some ascetic writings of his and some two thousand letters, which in the form of maxims praise the splendour of the monastic life and the abandonment of the world as leading to the freedom of the soul and to its union with God.

Owing to the new position in which Constantine placed the Church, the Christians had rest and with it time and desire to celebrate feasts. The Church wished to make its life attractive and impressive to the masses and to give them a substitute for the joyous and glittering pagan feasts, of which they had been deprived since their conversion to Christianity. Formerly, besides the Sundays, only the Easter feast, in remembrance of Christ's death and resurrection, was celebrated. Then in the East the feast of the Epiphany on January 6 had been introduced in commemoration of Christ's baptism. The West now

gave to the whole Church a far more beautiful feast. On December 24, the feast of the Sigillaria, the pagans were wont to give the children dolls and images of wax or earthenware or dough, and the next day they kept the "birthday of the invincible sun." The Church declared this day the birthday of Him whom all the dark storms of persecution had not been able to conquer. This feast, which is traceable in the West after 354, was introduced into Constantinople in 379. To the fortieth day after Christmas, February 2, they assigned the feast of "the Purification of Mary," "or "Candlemas," since the holy candles were then consecrated. Thus a Christian festival replaced the February lustrations, in particular the Amburbale (procession round the city), with its procession of torches.

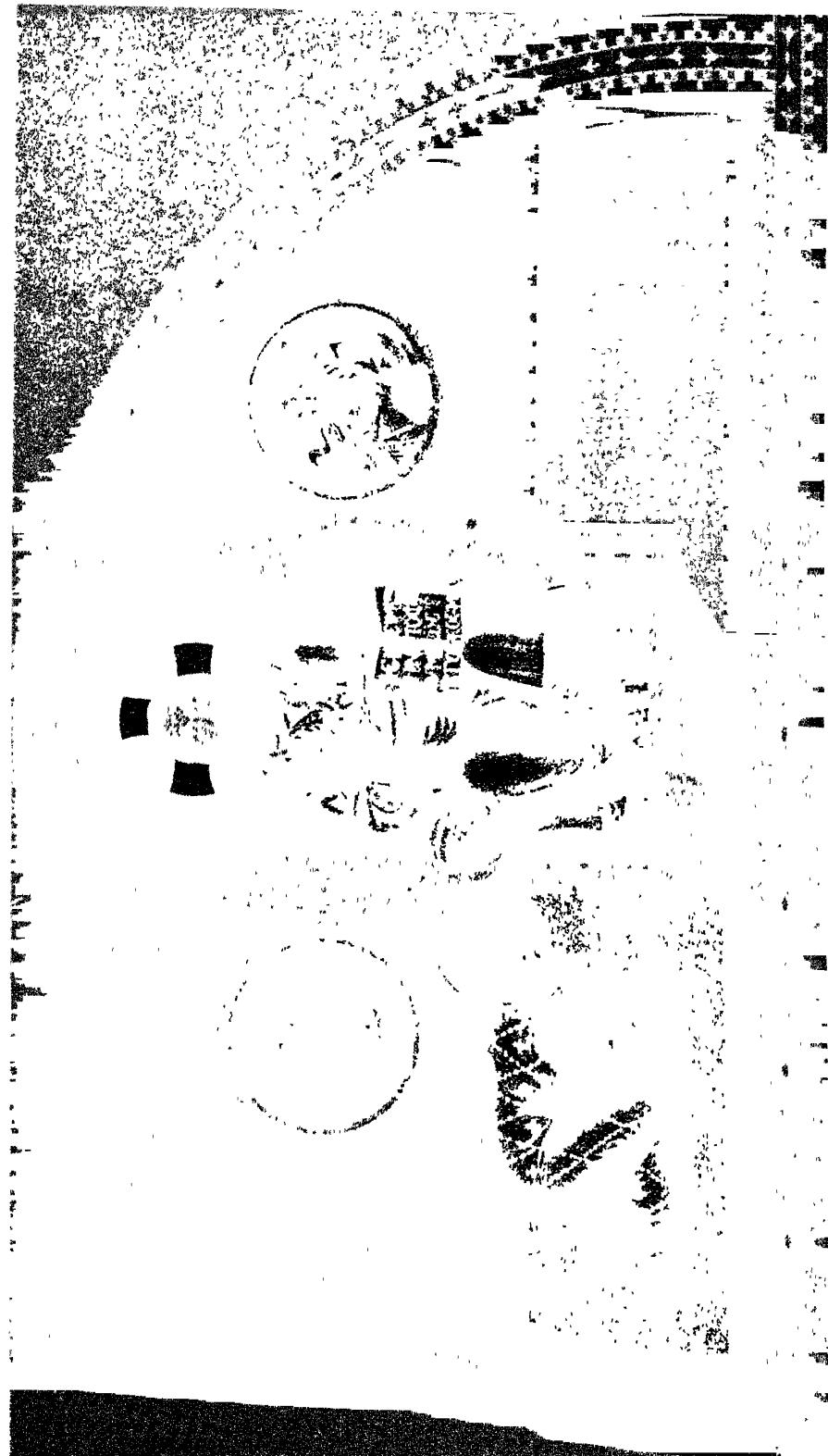
Further feasts were created to meet a similar spiritual longing. Paganism had been proud of its heroes, had sacrificed at their graves, and celebrated their festivals. Their place was taken by the religious martyrs, whose *natalitia* (birthday feasts), in commemoration of their death as the entry into the true life, became real, popular festivals with the customary feasting. Theodoretus could boast before the former pagans, "The Lord has introduced his dead, instead of your gods, into the temple. They are, in truth, the leaders, the champions, and helpers in need." Formerly the Christians had assembled for divine service at the tombs of the martyrs, in order to gain strength for the war of faith in which all shared. Now, these assemblies developed into an adoration of the martyred heroes, redounding to the glory of the Church. Chapels and churches were erected over their graves. Their remains were sought out; their reliques were taken into the church in solemn procession, to be laid beneath the altar. If men had formerly prayed for the dead with the feeling that those who have departed hence are still bound by love with those left behind, they began now to pray to them as to heavenly agents, who from heaven protect mankind below. But if these saints were near at hand to help, where could they be nearer than where their remains were to be seen? Thus all sorts of wonders were wrought by the reliques; and the half-pagan masses felt proud and safe, because they belonged to a communion in which such exalted patrons were revered. The trade in reliques became so profitable a business that in the year 386 the emperor Theodosius was obliged to forbid men by law to dig up the bones of the saints and carry them away for sale.

It might be surprising to find that there was not yet any talk of an adoration of Mary, the mother of Jesus; but at that time the remembrance of the bloody persecutions was still so vivid that the martyrs were held by the Church to be stars of special glory in heaven. The mother of the Lord lacked the martyr's crown. But the way which led later to the adoration of Mary had long since been open. While Tertullian (died about 220) still assumed, as the earlier Christians did, that Jesus had had brothers of the flesh, Epiphanius (died 403) already opposed the representatives of this view as heretics, led astray by the old serpent. Mary's virginity had not been injured even by Christ's birth. While Chrysostom (died 407) still upheld the possibility of blame in her, Augustine (died 430) thinks that with her (though with her alone) there can be no question of sin. Thus she might co-operate in the work of redemption, and was, therefore, exalted, like her son, Christ. The Holy Scriptures, indeed, mention nothing of this, but that was not fatal. "The Ascension of Mary" was produced and

ascribed to the apostle John, in soul and body had she been taken up into heaven, and the high privilege of being invoked for help had been solemnly assured to her by Christ himself. If she had thus been placed at the side of the Son of God as the mother of God, then she must have her high festivals, as He did. Each of the next centuries added a fresh one. They celebrated the day of the Annunciation, the day on which she came with her child into the temple for "purification," her assumption, her birth. Even the angels were clothed with divine powers for protection. Their aid was invoked, and a special day was consecrated as a festival to the archangel Michael.

It was sought to offer a Christian substitute for the fading classical education. The quiet in the external world gave leisure for composition, and the educated men, now become Christians, felt the need of poetic literature. Apollonius of Laodicea (died 390) sang of the sacred history as far as King Saul in an epic of twenty-four books, and imitated with biblical subjects the tragedies of Euripides, the comedies of Menander, and the lyrics of Pindar. Ephraim the Syrian (died 378) composed nearly all his writings in poetical form in peculiar lines of seven syllables each. The Church, which had so long been pushed aside into a corner, ventured to let herself be seen in the open market-place of the world, and wished now to make a deep impression on the great world. It was desired to give the people who had been given some compensation for the solemn pageants in which they had found pleasure at the high festivals of Dionysus, Athena, and others of their favourites. Thus the Church began to unfold her splendour in processions. Joyful events and public disasters alike offered an opportunity for these. The joy and sorrow of the people are placed in the beneficent hand of the Church.

The buildings for divine service could now be so erected and beautified as to inspire those who stood outside with a sense of the greatness of the Church and those who entered with a feeling of her power, that spread out over the world. It is characteristic that Constantine most eagerly encouraged the extension and the improvement of the existing Church buildings and the erection of new ones, because up till now they had not been built up stored, from fear of persecution. The amelioration in the condition of the Church was followed by the improvement of the churches. Art was called in to aid. At first, indeed, the wish to influence the masses by art had to contend with the repugnance to the pictorial representation of the divine Being—a custom with which paganism had been reproached. But were not these pictures a silent sermon for the ignorant people? Gradually even those who were still biased by the old ideas became accustomed to the innovation. About the year 440 men acquired courage enough to introduce pictures of Christ himself into the churches, not, as before, merely under emblems, such as the lamb, the shepherd, or the fish. And it is noteworthy that He was no longer represented, as was formerly done in the catacombs, as a beardless youth, but as the King of Heaven in full majesty and sometimes with a halo round his head (see the subjoined plate, "The Enthroned Christ"), as was customary with pagan emperors. How should not the still half-pagan people show to these pictures the same honour as formerly to the statues of their gods? Men prostrated themselves before them, kissed them, offered incense to them, and lighted lamps before them. Why should not these pictures work wonders also? Ought the Church to prohibit such a proof of reverence



THE ENTHRONED CHRIST, MOSAIC IN THE CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA AT CONSTANTINOPLE

After W. Salomon, *Ancient Christian Monuments of Constantinople*, Vol. III, Figures
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ANNUAL PORTFOLIO

for the Holy One? At a time when men must have thought that much had been attained ought they not to have rejoiced if all the so-called Christians could only be maintained in concord with the Church?

Since the Church succeeded so splendidly in making her cult pleasant, interesting, and comfortable to her new members, there remained only two reasons that caused some still to adhere to the obsolete system of paganism and delayed its complete disappearance. The old Roman spirit had been too closely bound up with the old gods. In Rome itself, particularly the friends of the mother country, thought that the glory of the empire would be destroyed if the religion under the protection and guidance of which the world had been conquered, were to die out. How much more quickly did the remnants of paganism disappear in the new capital, which knew no sanctified traditions, but arose under the eyes of a Christian emperor! The second hindrance to the complete victory of Christianity was the anxiety lest classical culture should disappear, together with the old belief in the gods. For this reason the places where this culture was fostered held tenaciously to the old order of things: Athens, Miletus, Ephesus, Nicomedia, Antioch. The hostility of these groups to Christianity could only increase as the sons of Constantine proceeded to violent measures against paganism, being spurred on by Christians who only too soon had forgotten how urgently their fathers or even they themselves had formerly demanded religious liberty. What a source of grief it was for the enthusiastic friends of classical times, and to what obstinate resistance they must have been driven when revered temples were demolished, the works of art annihilated, the monuments of a glorious past destroyed, in order to establish the undisputed supremacy of an unenlightened religion! Was no return to the good old times still possible?

Julian (361-363) ventured to entertain this hope. He tried to stay and to overthrow the triumphal car of Christianity. He had become acquainted with Christianity in a sad form, clothed in the mask of hypocrisy; for at the imperial court those who indisputably possessed no trace of Christian faith tried, nevertheless, to get the start of each other in exhibiting their burning zeal for the Church. Julian was convinced that the number of the Christians would diminish if the sunshine of imperial favour no longer smiled on them, and if the might of the imperial arm no longer stood at the disposal of the Church. Just as he had too little confidence in Christianity, he had too much in paganism. He did not doubt it would shine out again with its old brilliancy if only complete freedom were restored to it. In point of fact he was able to secure many converts. A smile of the former emperors had sufficed to convert masses to Christianity, and to make these once more pagans, did not even require a smile on the part of Julian. It was quite enough if they knew that he wished it. Now they were no longer Christians, but none the more pagans. The emperor was in despair at their lukewarmness in the service of the gods, at their disinclination to visit the temples, at their lack of moral rectitude. He, therefore, wished to reform paganism; but he could only borrow from Christianity the means for so doing. The religious meetings of the pagans were to be organised similarly to the Christian divine services. The priesthood was to be cleansed of unworthy members. The charitable character of Christianity was to be imitated, hospitals and almshouses were to be erected, and the needy were to be supported. He worked with all his energies, but he found no fellow-workers. The classic spirit would

not revive. He had to go further than he had wished. If anywhere Christians were oppressed or killed by pagans, he let it pass unnoticed. When he started on the war against the Persians, he is said to have threatened to employ other measures against Christianity if he came back safely from the campaign. What else was left for him to do? As he fell, wounded by an arrow, while retreating from the enemy on the battle-field, he is said to have exclaimed, "Nazarene, Thou hast conquered!" His words may not have run thus literally, but the phrase expresses the impression which his fall made on the contemporary world. The last attempt to re-establish paganism had failed, and not from incidental causes Paganism had shown itself to be dead beyond the possibility of revival by any power.

But it was also impossible to realise the other ideal — to imbue the entire Roman empire with the Christian spirit and through it to cause the still existing paganism to disappear. To overthrow the wall of separation formed by the diversity of religion throughout the empire it was necessary to be content with a merely formal adhesion to the Christian Church, and not to shrink from strong measures, in order to establish unity. It was inevitable from this that the old paganism continued under the cloak of Christianity, and that Christianity was more and more strongly tinged with paganism. Men had gone too far away from the original spirit, according to which the essence of Christianity consisted in the communion of the individual with God. From being a "community of the faithful" the Church had become an educational institution, and had received into itself such masses of persons needing education that it lost sight of the real goal of this education and professed herself content if it obtained to some extent outward obedience. And because this task was made more difficult by the existence of paganism, it was obliged to aim at the complete eradication of the latter. Theodosius I., eastern emperor from 378, ruler of the entire empire from 392-395, worked for this object. He forbade visits to the temples and declared every sort of idolatry to be high treason. In 394 the Olympian games were celebrated for the last time. His son continued his work. Bishops and numbers of monks were sent into the provinces to destroy the old shrines. In Alexandria the celebrated teacher of philosophy, Hypatia, perished at the hands of the Christian mob. Pagans were excluded from posts in the government and army. The last bulwark of classic paganism, the school at Athens, was closed by Justinian in the year 529. The teachers emigrated to Persia. At the emperor's commission John, bishop of Ephesus, went about (c. 545), in order to track out the pagans "wherever they were still to be found." He prided himself on having made in Asia seventy thousand Christians. How long, however, the worship of the gods, which many loved, defied the imperial legislation in the provinces, the temple of Isis at Philæ in Upper Egypt shows; it was not closed until the middle of the sixth century.

B. THE AGE OF DOCTRINAL CONTROVERSIES AND SCHISMS

THE conviction that outside the one visible Church there was no salvation had become universal. The attempt to make of the Church a firmly articulated organism had been successful. The state had lent its arm to uphold the single

will of the Church against personal independence. But, strangely enough, the result was not only the defection of large groups from the Church, but also its division into two parts, which, in spite of repeated attempts, could not be reunited. This development was chiefly due, first, to the wish to see the unity of the visible Church confirmed by the creation of a permanent head, raised above all other members; and, second, to the intervention of the powerful arm of the state, which had been invoked to protect the unity of the Church, and was invading the very centre of the Church. The former cause was especially active in the West, the latter grievance especially prevalent in the East.

The Council of Nicaea had not really quenched the flames of the Arian heresy (cf. above, pp. 196, 197), for the majority of those present had voted against their conviction, in order to please the emperor. When they returned home they repented and sought to convince the emperor that Arius was by no means a wicked heretic, and that it would never be possible to restore unity in the Church on the basis of the resolutions passed at Nicaea. One of the ecclesiastics at court was well disposed towards Arianism. He worked upon the emperor's sister, and she succeeded in changing her brother's attitude. Athanasius of Alexandria the great opponent of Arianism, was banished. Only the sudden death of Arius prevented his being received back into the body of the Church. When Constantius mounted the throne, Athanasius was permitted to return; but before long the Arians were able to bring about his second deposition. The imperial governor at Alexandria was obliged to employ force to instal the successor of Athanasius into office. Scourging and imprisonment were the lot of those discontented with the act. Was there no one now in the whole of Christendom to take under his protection the persecuted representative of orthodoxy?

For a long time the community at Rome had possessed special repute among Christians, for, indeed, all the world had been accustomed to look with reverence to the ancient capital of the world as the source of all imperial laws and ordinances and as the ultimate court of appeal in all civil questions. In disputed questions men could not help considering what the community at Rome thought on the debated point. Questions had been submitted. Men did not always follow the answer they received, but, nevertheless, they had not ceased to inquire, in the hope that Rome would be on their side. The bishop of Rome had the courage to take up the cause of the banished Athanasius. Julius I and a Roman council definitely accepted his doctrine. The East held a rival council at Antioch — the first beginning of the schism. Men wished rather to settle the controversy. A general council met at Sardica (343), but the members could not agree. The supporters of Arianism left the town. Those who remained behind wished to testify their gratitude to the Roman bishop, Julius, and to express the confidence which they reposed in him. They, therefore, passed the resolution that bishops deposed by provincial synods might appeal to him. This concession was made to him personally, and only in that period of immediate distress was a harbour of refuge sought. The world soon forgot the resolution. Rome has never forgotten it, and has interpreted it to mean that the Roman throne is the highest court of appeal in all ecclesiastical questions. In addition, there was the fortunate incident that the resolutions of the Council of Sardica were confused in western assemblies with the rules laid down by the Council of Nicaea. Rome applied them, therefore, as resolutions of that famous first ecumenical council.

The Arians who had seceded from the Council of Sardica expelled the Roman bishop from the body of the Church. Athanasius was forced more than once to go into exile. The emperor, Valens (364-378), proceeded to measures of unexampled severity against all who would not become strict Arians. All this could only enhance the importance of the Roman throne, until at last the view represented by it and maintained in defiance of all emperors gained the victory at the second ecumenical council at Constantinople (381). The fact that the Eastern Church and the bishop of the new imperial capital had not been able to act freely, but were guided by the caprice of the emperor, made it more easy for the Roman bishop to press on unchecked to his goal, the *primaey*. If in any question bishops turned to Rome for historical information on the subject, the Roman bishop did not deliver an opinion, but rendered a decision, as if he had been appealed to as judge. He issued a "decretal." Or if he held a synod on some question, he communicated to other churches the resolution passed in a form as if they also had to comply with it. Such communications were, perhaps, put aside with surprise or amusement. But there they were, however, and could be employed by later bishops of Rome as proof that for a very long time the "apostolic throne" had been accustomed to issue regulations for other churches.

Innocent I. (402-417) followed this line of policy with signal success. In Constantinople, Byzantinism was flourishing once more. The great orator and austere preacher of morality, whom the people highly honoured, John Chrysostom, was obnoxious to the imperial court, and especially to the empress herself. He was sent into exile (404). Innocent dared to intervene for him and to demand his recall. The answer, indeed, was an imperial order to send the exile still further into the desert, and the noble Chrysostom sank beneath the exertions of this journey. But thirty years later it was recognised what injustice had been done him. The emperor, Theodosius II, had his bones brought to Constantinople. When the coffin was brought to land, the emperor fell on his knees before it and implored pardon for the sins his deceased parents had committed against the innocent man. The beloved remains were laid in the imperial vault. What a triumph for the bishop of Rome! He was the champion of innocence when no one dared to speak, and God in the end justified him before the whole world.

A new doctrinal dispute was kindled over the question as to how far salvation depended on a man's own exertions. Pelagius advanced the proposition that man, being free, can choose the good and fight his way through to holiness, and that the grace of God only rendered it more easy for him to realise his high destiny. Against him rose up the greatest and most influential of all the fathers of the Church, Aurelius Augustinus, bishop of Hippo Regius in Numidia (died 430). According to him, true freedom consists in the ability to attain one's destined development. The sinful man no longer possesses this liberty, and only the grace of God can redeem him and make him holy. Pelagius turned to the East. There the view prevailed that the divine grace and human freedom co-operated in the conversion of any man. Two synods in Palestine declared themselves for Pelagius, but Innocent of Rome decided against him. Augustine held this up in triumph before his opponent, "Roma locuta, causa finita" (Rome has spoken, the dispute is decided). He may only have meant by this

that if the "apostolic throne" had declared the teaching of Pelagius to be an innovation, it could not belong to the teachings of the old Church, but still Rome could henceforth make good use of this catch word as evidence coming from the greatest of all churchmen, that Rome had the right to speak the last word in all ecclesiastical disputes. Nevertheless, the Church, which had laid this splendid foundation for the establishment of the primacy, could not yet give up its longing for independence. This was seen again in this very dispute. Zosimus, the successor of Innocent, was firmly convinced that Pelagius was no heretic. He blamed the African bishops for having attacked a man of so perfect faith. But these, under the guidance of Augustine at a council at Carthage (418), openly declared their opposition to this decision of the bishop of Rome and gained the victory, so that in the end even Zosimus condemned Pelagius. The victors, however, were soon made harmless. In 428 the Vandals crossed over to Africa, and not only ravaged the beautiful land, but also rendered the Church powerless. Rome was freed of its most powerful rival in the West.

In the East at that time the attempt was being made to reduce to fixed formulas the doctrine concerning the person of Christ and of the union of the divine and the human in Him. Two theological schools had tried their ingenuity on the question. The Alexandrians set out to establish the redemption as a divine act, and, therefore, emphasised the divine nature in Christ: their war cry became the designation of the mother of Jesus as "Parent of God" (*theotokos*). Their opponents of the school of Antioch taunted them with the denial of the true humanity of the Redeemer. The main thought by which they were led was a moral one. The Redeemer is for us the type of moral union with God. But He can only be that if a free moral development of His humanity remains possible. Thus they lay every stress on His humanity. The union of the divine and the human in Him is only a moral one in the same way, that is, as God dwells in other pious men. Their opponents retorted that they did not observe the essential difference between the Redeemer and the redeemed. Nestorius, the patriarch of Constantinople had come from this school of Antioch. In sermons he fought against the shibboleth, "Parent of God." Against him rose Cyril of Alexandria. In order to win a powerful ally, he turned to the bishop of Rome with the declaration that, "according to ancient custom in the Church, inquiry must be made at Rome in the case of disputed questions." Celestine I. listened gladly and demanded a recantation from Nestorius. The emperor, Theodosius II., thereupon called the third ecumenical council at Ephesus (431). Cyril and his supporters declared Nestorius deposed, and the Roman envoys confirmed the sentence. The opposite party replied by deposing Cyril and his friends. Both sides turned to the emperor. At last the majority agreed to a formula, which attempted to cut away the most irreconcilable points in the two doctrines (432). Nestorius was given up to the revenge of his enemies, and died in misery. The result of this dispute was the severance of the Nestorians from the imperial Church (cf. below, pp. 211, 212).

In the year 440 Leo I. became bishop of Rome, and his reign of twenty-one years was devoted to the one object of accustoming the world to the belief that the successor of Peter was the head of entire Christendom. Whoever ventured to desert the rock, Peter, lost connection with Christ and had no part in the kingdom of God. The views of the Alexandrians were represented in their most

crude and exaggerated form by Eutyches, the old archimandrite (abbot) of Constantinople. Christ, he taught, after His incarnation had but *one* nature, His humanity having been, as it were, swallowed up by His divinity. Eutyches was deposed at a synod at Constantinople held under the patriarch Flavian. He appealed to Rome, as did Flavian. Leo I. demanded an exact report, in order that he might decide by virtue of the apostolic authority. He decided in his famous "Letter to Flavian" against Eutyches, and thus against monophysitism. But the East did not wish to allow itself to be ruled by Rome. The emperor called a council at Ephesus (449) and entrusted the post of president to the successor of Cyril, the passionate and unscrupulous Dioscurus of Alexandria, the patron of Eutyches. His intimidating appearance prevented the Roman envoys from securing an audience, the doctrine of Eutyches was ratified, and all its opponents, even Leo of Rome, were declared to be deposed. The emperor approved of these resolutions. The party which at this "synod of bandits" was in the minority fell back all the more on the support of the bishop of Rome, declaring more and more strongly that the decision lay with him. The end of the burning dispute was that at the council at Chalcedon (451), which condemned Nestorius, as well as Eutyches, Leo's "Letter to Flavian" was made the basis of the decision. The feeling which this victory of the Roman throne produced is shown by the rise of the legend that Leo had placed his letter on the tomb of St. Peter and prayed that he would change anything wrong that was contained in it, and that on the next morning an alteration by the apostle's hand had been actually found.

But the supporters of the condemned Alexandrian dogma, the Monophysites of the East, did not abandon the struggle. And again it was the emperors who, led by political considerations, undertook to dictate their own views to the Church and to impress them by force. Leo I, the Thracian, banished the heads of the Monophysites; on the other hand, Basiliscus extolled Monophysitism as the exclusive state religion and condemned the letter of Leo. Zeno again forbade men to touch upon these points of doctrine which had been so hotly disputed in the last century, and thus annulled once more the resolutions of the last General Council of Chalcedon. The bishop of Rome broke off all ecclesiastical relations with the East. For thirty-five years (484-519) the imperial Church was divided. Justinian I. (527-565) at last succeeded at the fifth ecumenical council at Constantinople in reconfirming the resolutions of Chalcedon.

The result was that the extreme Monophysites severed themselves from the Church and formed independent communities, especially in Egypt, Syria, Persia, Armenia, and Abyssinia. The rejection of the resolutions of Chalcedon and the recognition of the "bandit synod" at Ephesus are common to all. In Egypt this national church party has been designated since the beginning of the sixteenth century by the name of "Copts" (incorrect Arabic for Egyptians). Their hostility towards the "imperial dogma" was so great and exposed them to so many persecutions that they welcomed the Arabs who broke into the country as their liberators (cf. in Vol. III. the section "The Arabic Conquests and the Kalifate"). But they had to undergo so many cruelties from these, too, that increasingly large masses of them accepted Islam. Their number in 1873 was reckoned at two hundred and fifty thousand souls at most, though only a few centuries ago they were very numerous, as the number of ruined monasteries

and churches in the different parts of the country shows. Their patriarch, who at the time of the inroad of the Arabs still had ninety-five bishops under him, now rules over but twelve. In Syria (and also in Egypt) the Monophysites had termed themselves "Jacobites" after the man who in the first period after the separation from the imperial Church was the spiritual head of this entire party. Jacob Barradai for thirty years (after becoming Monophysitic bishop of Edessa in 541) had wandered through the whole of nearer Asia, disguised as a beggar, and, sparing no exertions, had everywhere collected and encouraged his scattered fellow-believers, organised communities, appointed many bishops and "fully one hundred thousand priests and deacons." In Asia Minor, it is true, the imperial Church prevailed, but in the patriarchate of Antioch for a time almost the entire population became Jacobite. Under the crescent their numbers have melted down to small groups. They dwell most thickly at the present day in the district of Tor on the upper Tigris. In Syria proper there are only a few weak communities to be found in Damaseus and in isolated villages. Their total number cannot, in any case, exceed one hundred thousand. (For Persia, Armenia, and Abyssinia, cf. below, pp. 210 *et seq.*, 217, 218.)

The hope of reconciling the Monophysites with the Church would not let the question once raised drop even within the imperial Church. How, if a compromise were offered the discontented party by the admission that the Redeemer had only *one* will, even if He had two natures? Thus the Monophysite dispute passed in the Monothelite. The same aspect of events was presented as before: the Eastern Church hanging in the most complete dependence on the state, and the life of the state wasting away in ecclesiastical controversies. There was the same result as before. At the sixth ecumenical council at Constantinople (680) the encyclical letter of Pope Agatho was made the basis of the decision, and the resolution was sent to him for confirmation. There were two wills in Christ. The former pope, Honorius, was solemnly and vigorously condemned as an execrable heretic, who had assented to an irregular imperial formula. Agatho confirmed this condemnation of his predecessor, "who by mean treachery had tried to overthrow the unsullied faith." This, at a time when the infallibility of the pope was not yet declared, must have assured to the "apostolic throne" the reputation of a disinterested vindicator of orthodoxy.

Controversies over dogma were followed by disputes as to pictures and images. By the beginning of the eighth century the worship of images had reached such a pitch in the East that the more thoughtful became anxious. Images were invited to act as god-parents, and men scraped the colour off them, in order to consecrate with it the wine at the Lord's Supper. The energetic emperor, Leo III. the Isaurian (717-741), ventured on the command to hang the pictures so high as to make it impossible for worshippers to kiss them. He sought to quiet the storm thus raised by forcible measures and by a second decree, which ordered all images to be removed from the churches. His son and successor, Constantine V., undertook the systematic persecution of the friends of image worship. They were imprisoned, scourged, and their noses and ears were cut off. The popes protested. More than once they hurled the terrible bolts of excommunication at all foes of image worship. What a triumph for Rome when the empress, Irene, at the seventh ecumenical council at Nicæa (787) again made the veneration of images a law of the empire. But for many decades,

according to the imperial orders, the images were repeatedly torn down and raised again. In the end the Roman view gained a decisive victory: the empress, Theodora (842), caused the resolutions of the seventh council to be reinforced and celebrated in honour of it, the festival of orthodoxy.

If, now, it was possible to deprive Rome of its glory as champion of immaculate orthodoxy, then its claim to the first rank in the Church could be triumphantly repudiated. Search was made for some ground of complaint against Rome, and a pretext was found in the failure of Rome to respect the ancient faith and ancient customs. Rome ordered fasting on Saturday. It permitted the use of milk, butter, and cheese during the first week of Lent. It would not tolerate the marriage of priests. It had not even shrunk from "sinning against the Holy Ghost" by adding the word "filioque" in the confession of faith made at Nicæa and Constantinople; because, according to its views, the spirit proceeded not only from the Father, but "also from the Son." When Pope Nicholas I., therefore, declared himself for the deposed patriarch of Constantinople and against his successor, Photius, the latter impeached the Roman Church of heresy on account of these innovations, and obtained of a council (867) the deposition and banishment of the pope. Nicholas pronounced excommunication against him and his followers. In 1053 the patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Cærularius, renewed the charges against Rome, adding the new heresy that Rome in the Lord's Supper used unleavened bread after the manner of the Jews. When negotiations for peace proved vain, the papal legates laid a letter of excommunication on the altar of the Church of St. Sophia, and Michael, with the other patriarchs of the East, put the Roman Church under the ban (1054). The schism has continued since that time.

The development of the Eastern Church, however, had long since ceased. It knew nothing of a mediæval period with its struggles for a new organisation, or of such a reconstruction as the Reformation brought to the West. It wished only to keep the old, and not to advance. Its scientific life was by no means extinguished: for centuries the civilisation of the East remains higher than that of the West. But all creative life is gone. Orthodoxy, submission to the old dogmas of the Church, are for it the pivots of Christianity. Such a religion cannot content serious minds; no, not even the lower masses, to whom, naturally, these doctrines in their dogmatic form remain incomprehensible. As substitute we have with the educated and the pious a philosophic mysticism; with the masses a mysterious worship and ritual. The East was obliged to surrender to the West the leadership in the history of the Church. It lost also its control over the Christians outside Europe in the East and South.

3. CHRISTIANITY BEYOND THE BOUNDARIES OF THE EMPIRE IN THE EAST AND THE SOUTH

A. CHRISTIANITY IN PERSIA

THE date at which the doctrines of Christianity in Persia (cf. Vol. III., the section on West Asia to the Kalifate) first found believers cannot be fixed; we only know when results first became apparent. When, in 227, the

new Persian empire of the Sassanids took the place of the Parthian empire, it seems that Christian communities already existed in that country. Seleucia-Ctesiphon, on the banks of the Tigris, was the central point. Although the new dynasty revived the fire-worship and persecuted the Greek cults, as well as Manichaeism, it tolerated Christianity, because it was proscribed in the hated Roman empire. But when it became favoured there by the executive power, and when Constantine (in 333) concluded peace with the young Persian king, Shapur II., and warmly recommended the Christians to his protection, mistrust was awakened. Closer observation showed the Persians that the Christians looked to the Roman empire to enhance their position. Thus the fire of persecution which had been extinguished in the Roman empire blazed up with flames of blood in Persia. In order to convert the Christians to Parsism, a heavy poll-tax was laid on them, which their metropolitan was to collect. When he refused to do so, he, together with a hundred of the clergy, was executed, and the churches were destroyed. In 344 the penalty of death was extended to all Christians. It may be exaggeration when we are told of the massacre of sixteen thousand Christians, but how numerous and how healthy must the Church in Persia have been if it could survive such a storm! The death of Shapur (381) gave it forty years of peace. The destruction of a temple to the sun by excited Christians caused the renewal of stringent measures. A number of Christians escaped to Roman territory. Theodosius II. refused to give them up, and, as a result, war with the Roman empire once more broke out. The Persian Christians recognised that they would not find peace until they had cleared themselves of all suspicion of a leaning towards a foreign power. When, therefore, on one occasion, seven thousand of their countrymen were taken prisoners by the Romans, a Persian bishop gave up all the vessels of his church for their ransom. This patriotic action bore the desired fruit.

A controversy over dogma in the imperial Church served completely to realise the new state of affairs. Although the heated disputes which Nestorius had aroused were appeased by a formula of conciliation (cf. above, p. 207), many of his adherents did not relinquish their views. Some of the teachers at the school at Edessa, who were devoted to his cause, were expelled, and went to Persia. Here no offence was taken at their teaching. For the Persian Church had, in consequence of its isolation, remained practically untouched by quarrels over dogma, which had sharpened men's ears within the imperial Church for the more subtle distinctions of doctrine. It had remained in close connection with the Syrian Church alone, in which, indeed, the teaching of Nestorius had arisen. After the council at Chalcedon (451) had repeated the condemnation of these views, their supporters in the Roman empire were more and more oppressed and persecuted. Increasing numbers of them fled over the frontier and found a hospitable reception in Persia. Gradually the Persian Church was completely won for Nestorianism. A synod at Beth Lagat (483 and 484) sealed its severance from the imperial Church. The school at Edessa was abolished by the order of the emperor, Zeno, on account of its Nestorian tendencies (489). The banished professors reappeared in Nisibis and Dschon-daischabur. For two centuries these schools became the seminaries of theological and profane science. Still more favourable was the position of the Christians in Persia under Chosrv Anosharevan (531-579). Before he ascended the throne the Christians had sup-

ported him in the struggle against the communistic sect of the Mazdakites (cf. Vol. III.). When he came into power he rewarded them. They were able to send out missionaries everywhere in his wide empire and to found new communities.

In the year 651 the Sassanid rule gave way to the power of the Arabic Kalifs (cf. also Vol. III.). But only fire-worship was persecuted by them; the Christians enjoyed tolerance. They could, if they paid their poll-tax regularly, administer the affairs of their community with complete liberty, celebrate divine worship without hindrance, and build (at least in the country) new churches and monasteries. Owing to their education, they enjoyed at court also a high reputation. We hear of Christians who were esteemed as court poets, writers, and physicians. They were often in control of the state finances. It was they who transmitted to the Arabs the classical learning at a time when it was forgotten in the West. The Kalifs sent Nestorians to Constantinople, in order to search for and collect old manuscripts. The Kalif Mansur had many old Greek, Byzantine, and Syrian works translated into Arabic after he had founded (762) a new school for Christians at Bagdad. This close connection between Moslems and Christians was bound to extend the influence of Christian ideas over the conquerors; sects of Islam owe some of their views, at least, to this circumstance. Their influence had not yet ceased, when gradually with the strengthening of the Mohammedan power the burden to which the Christians were always subjected grew heavier. At one time it was the decrees of the Kalif, at another the jealous or fanatical population, from which the Christians had to suffer. As a result, the number of converts to Islam became very great.

B. CHRISTIANITY IN INNER ASIA

THE vigorous life of the Persian Church during these centuries and later is demonstrated especially by the amazing desire for expansion that possessed it. In three directions, towards the northeast, the east, and the south, it had been able to disseminate the Christian faith. The first bishop of Merv, in the territory of the Turcomans, is mentioned as early as 334; and eighty-six years later the church of that district had increased to such an extent that the town was raised to be the seat of a metropolitan. Here also scientific zeal was conspicuous. The bishop Theodorus (in 540) had composed a number of writings, and a later bishop, Elias by name, wrote, together with other works, explanations of biblical books and a "History of the World," which was highly prized. Perhaps it was from this district that those prisoners came who, being sent by Narses (581) to the emperor, Mauricius, replied to a question as to the origin of the cross tattooed on their foreheads that those of their people who embraced Christianity had thought it well on the outbreak of a pestilence to protect their children with the holy sign. Samarcand, situated between the rivers Syr and Amu, which flow into the Sea of Aral, may have been raised to the seat of a metropolitan by the beginning of the sixth century.

Christianity made its way still further towards the north, far beyond the Syr. There, to the west of Lake Balkash, Seljuk, before he went over to Islam, lived in the service of a Turkish chief of the Kirgis steppe (930); one of

his sons bore the Christian name of Michael. Somewhat south of Lake Balkash, not far from the river Tschu, the graveyards of Nestorian Christians have been found at the towns of Great Tomak and Pishpek. The number of gravestones is estimated at more than three thousand. Most of them bear, besides a cross, inscriptions, of which some hundreds have been deciphered: they run in the Syro-Nestorian character. Some Turkish words and inscriptions, as well as many Turkish proper names, prove that the Christians who lie here were mostly of Turkish origin. Many also of the higher clergy buried there bear true Turkish names. The Church, which once flourished there, was, therefore, no longer a mere missionary church, but stood firm on its own feet. Even if the oldest of the inscriptions deciphered up till now bears the date 1249, it does not prove that the community was only then founded, for at that date we find already a completely organised corporate life. In the next twenty-two years we meet with, at least, two suffragans, a district visitor, a church visitor, and five priests. And the picture which the simple inscriptions of those Turkish Christians give to us presents no dull traits, testifying to want of education and religious fervour, but is, on the contrary, most attractive. Thus we learn of a father and his son, who both held the rank of general, of whom the latter is designated as "renowned emir and priest." More than once the inscription says of the deceased with warm gratitude that he was worthy of fame for having "zealously promoted the welfare of the Church." We see in the spirit once more before us the numerous monasteries of that country when we read the complimentary inscription, "the renowned expounder and preacher, who has illuminated all monasteries by his light; his voice was raised like a trumpet." And when we find at some miles distance small elm groves, while elsewhere in that country this sort of tree is unknown, we may almost see the monks among that rough people, fostering the feeling for forestry and beauty. We hear also of laymen, who held it an honour to work as church wardens for the advantage of the communities; of teachers, who instructed the rude people in public schools; of clergy, who distinguished themselves by their erudition. And a deeper comprehension of Christianity is manifested when it is said of a maiden, "Her soul is healed;" or when we read, "the goal of life is Jesus, our Redeemer." Northward from this territory the great Turkish tribes of the Uigures, the Mercite, and the Naiman spread as far as the district of Lake Baikal. To these also Christianity was brought by the Nestorians, certainly about the eighth or ninth century, at which time the Uigures had accepted their alphabet from the Nestorians. It is possibly with reference to these places that the patriarch Timotheus (778-820) is said to have gained several Turkish chiefs for the cause of Christianity. Two centuries later it was possible to penetrate into that Turkish realm, which stretched from the northern frontier of Tibet to the confluence of the Selenga and of the Orchon (south of Lake Baikal), the empire of the Kareites. Ebedjesu, metropolitan of Merv, took that bold step (c. 1007). The king of the country was converted, and the greater part of his people followed his example. In the Middle Ages such astounding reports of the power and splendour of this Christian monarch were spread through the West that Pope Alexander III. in the year 1177 sent an embassy there with a missive to his "dearly beloved son in Christ, the exalted and most mighty King of the Indians, the most holy of priests." How men came to regard this Christian prince as a priest also, and

to name him, as well as his successors, "Presbyter John," is not even now clearly known. The desire of the pope to win him for the Roman Church was not fulfilled. Genghis-Khan invaded the country from the north and subjugated this powerful empire about the year 1202. But in the mighty Mongolian empire founded by him we hear of no persecution of the followers of strange religions, as the famous Kublai-Khan declared: "I honour and revere all four (Jesus, Mohammed, Moses, Buddha), and beseech him, who, in truth, is the highest among them, graciously to help me." Genghis-Khan himself took one of the daughters of the Christian Keraitic princes to wife, as did two of his sons, of whom one is said to have become himself a Christian. Even among the later Mongolian rulers and princes, some came very near Christianity, others openly professed it. The Christian princesses, above all, protected and assisted the Church to its great welfare. They were sometimes accompanied by their heathen husbands to the Christian places of worship. When, in 1253, Rubruquis, the ambassador of St. Louis (Louis IX. of France), was approaching Karakorum, the capital of the empire, the Nestorians came to meet him in solemn procession, escorted him into the city, and led him into their splendid church, where he was deeply edified by the gorgeous service. Under such circumstances the cross could push on victoriously forward. Even at the present day it is said that at places in the Mongolian steppe crosses have been found, which are memorials of Christianity in the past.

C. CHRISTIANITY IN AFGHANISTAN, TIBET, AND CHINA

IF we turn from Persia in an easterly direction, as early, perhaps, as the beginning of the sixth century, Herat in Afghanistan had been raised to the seat of a metropolitan. Farther eastward, in North Tibet, lies the province of Tangut. The princes of this country stood in close alliance with the Christian rulers of the adjoining land to the north, the Keraitic empire. It is true that only in the middle of the thirteenth century do we learn for the first time that there had been in the country of Tangut many Christians and numerous churches; but if the legend could arise that from here the "three holy kings" had set out for Bethlehem, and on their return had brought Christianity to their people, the faith may have become known in the country much earlier than we can prove.

To China, Christianity had penetrated certainly by the seventh century. The Nestorian patriarch, Jesubad, sent missionaries there in 636. Tschanan (in Shensi) is, according to a Chinese source, the first town of the celestial empire in which Christianity was preached. The missionary Olapuen succeeded in winning the emperor's favour. A law of the year 638 allowed the strangers in the country to convert whom they would and to build themselves churches. In many places churches and monasteries arose even in the capital, Singanfu (in Shansi). The Buddhist monks, indeed, succeeded in bringing down a storm of bloody persecution on the young settlement (after 699); but after ten years, at most, the new emperor became friendly to the Christians. New missionaries of the faith came into the country. The seat of a metropolitan was founded, and Christian priests were promoted to high posts of honour: a marble memorial

tablet, marked with a cross of the year 781 has been preserved; it was excavated in 1625 by Jesuits in the vicinity of Singan-fu, and its authenticity is now universally acknowledged. The inscription mentions the Nestorian patriarch, Chanán-Ischu, and states that since the beginning of the Christian propaganda in China not less than seventy missionaries had gone there. The confession of faith which it contains concludes with the words, "Seven and twenty books about the deeds and teaching of the Messiah (i.e. the New Testament) are the way to salvation." The overthrow of the tolerant Thang dynasty (960) brought down a storm of destruction on the Christians of China. When, twenty years later, the patriarch Ebedjesu sent two monks there to inquire after the condition of the Church, they hardly found a faint trace of it. Only in the North were there Christians, probably for another hundred years, at least. Help came with the Mongols. After these had conquered China, bands of missionaries could again labour in the country, and the patriarch Dancha (1265-81) could once more nominate metropolitans for China. When the Catholic missionaries at that time came into the land, they found everywhere in Tartary, North China, and especially in Pekin, great numbers of Nestorian Christians and numerous churches. In a report which Pope John XXII. (1410-15) ordered to be compiled we read that the number of the Nestorians in North China amounted to more than thirty thousand, and that they were very rich and possessed valuable privileges. How high the Christians stood in the estimation of their Mongolian rulers the following example shows: Two governors of Kung-Tschang (between Tangut and Pekin), the sons-in-law of Kublai-Khan, were Christians. A governor of Mossul was a Christian priest. A Christian governor of Chiangsu built seven churches and sent out of the country for a learned man, who was appointed bishop.

D. CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA

FINALLY the Nestorian mission to the south. Even if the tradition that the apostle Thomas and the Alexandrian catechist Pantænus (c. 200) had laboured in Hither India cannot be substantiated on good grounds, about the year 520, at any rate, Cosmas Indicopleustes found the Indian Christians already in relations with the Persian Church. The first loose bonds seem to have been firmly drawn when the Persian king, Shapur II., cruelly persecuted the Christians in his realm. Thus a bishop of Edessa landed in Malankara (345) with presbyters, deacons, and other Syrian and Persian Christians, joyously welcomed by their native brothers in the faith. The prince of the country conceded them most important privileges, so that with their arrival the church in Malabar entered upon an era of prosperity. Thomas, the merchant who led this colony, founded the "city of the Great God," which consisted of 472 houses. He laboured to establish among the Indian Christians of that country the Syrian doctrine. After his death the church seems to have come to the verge of destruction through party factions. The missionary zeal of the Nestorians saved it. The above-mentioned Cosmas found at Socotra "a number of Christians, ministered to by clergy, who were consecrated in Persia," and also in the island of Ceylon a Christian community, consisting of Persians, which drew their clergy from the home country. Besides, he met Christians in Malabar, and in

Kaljani (north of Bombay) a bishop ordained in Persia. In the seventh century the Nestorian patriarch, Jesujab (628-647), sent a number of missionaries to India, as he had to China. Another patriarch of the same name (650-660) denounces, in a letter, a Persian metropolitan, because by his fault the natives of India were left without bishops. Clearly to avoid a similar misfortune, India was made an independent diocese with a metropolitan about the middle of the eighth century, and thereby placed directly under the Nestorian patriarchs.

A cross, dating from the second half of the seventh century, is preserved at Mailapur with an inscription in Pehlevi (the imperial language of Persia during the Sassanid monarchy): "Whoever believes in the Messiah and in God on high and also in the Holy Ghost, he is in the grace of Him who has borne the agony of the cross." In 825 two Nestorian priests came to southern India and received important privileges from the ruler of the country, especially the permission to build churches where they wished. The prince himself gave them the sites. Thus they were able to found in the town of Quilon a Christian quarter, which became the centre for the community of that district. From the coast Christianity advanced steadily further into the interior. At least, Catholic emissaries found (not until 1599) remnants of a Christian community eight days' journey distant from the coast. Even in the farthest West the Church in India was spoken of. To greet it, an English embassy from King Alfred the Great came in 883 with presents, which he had vowed to St. Thomas when in great danger. When, in the year 1503, the Nestorian patriarch consecrated two monks as bishops for India and sent them thither, they found in Malabar some thirty thousand families, "rich and peaceable people," by whom they were received with the greatest joy. There were about twenty towns in that district, and Christians and churches in all of them.

E. THE CULMINATING POINT AND DECLINE OF NESTORIANISM IN ASIA

At the beginning of the fourteenth century the Nestorian Church had reached its zenith. The patriarch had no less than twenty-five metropolitans under him, to each of whom from six to twelve bishops were subordinate. This missionary church had spread from the steppes of Siberia to the palms of Ceylon, from the Persian Gulf to the Pacific.

Its fall began when the Mongolian princes went over to Islam, and it was not a little accelerated by the ravages of the Black Death which spread gradually from China to the West. In the years 1338 and 1339 it thinned the ranks of the Christians on the river Tschu, as the gravestones of the cemetery at Pishpek (cf. above, p. 213) tell us. In 1346 it crossed over to Europe. The dissolution was completed when Timur towards the end of the fourteenth century made himself master of Persia and the neighbouring countries and massacred numberless Christians. By this means the connections of the missionary churches with the mother-church and with each other was quite severed. The diminished and isolated communities pined away. In China the overthrow of the Mongol rule by the Ming dynasty (1369) produced the complete destruction of Christianity. For two centuries the faith disappeared. Then the Catholic Church, which had begun to work there in 1292, resumed its work. Since the

beginning of the nineteenth century Protestant missionaries have also been labouring in this field. In the East Indies the Catholic Church has always tried to "unite" the Christians of St. Thomas to herself: amid the confusion caused by its attempts the Syrian Jacobites (1665) (cf. above, p. 209) succeeded in setting foot in Malabar and winning the Christians there for their Church.

Thus Nestorianism remained limited to Persia. In the year 1551 a dispute arose as to the new nomination to the patriarchate. One party sent John, the monk selected by them, to Rome to receive consecration, to gain for him a reputation superior to his rival. From that time this communion has been divided into the "Chaldaeans," united with Rome, whose patriarch now rules in Mosul, and the Nestorians proper, whose patriarch lives in the Kurdish mountains. The number of the former is said to reach some forty-eight thousand; of the latter, who some sixty years ago were estimated at about seventy thousand, the fanatical chief, Beder Bey (1843-46), murdered some fifteen thousand. The report which was spread some years since that the rest had united with the Catholic Church, has proved false. Thus a small, broken fragment of the formerly great and enterprising Nestorian Church has been left. On the other hand, fear of the wild Kurds induced their patriarch to go over to the Greek Church in April, 1898, in order to secure the protection of Russia. Whether the whole body of the Church will follow his example, cannot be said. Who shall estimate what treasures of religion and morality this Church formerly transmitted to those wild, rude, ignorant, barbarous nationalities of Asia? Who can assert that all this was entirely in vain?

F. CHRISTIANITY IN ARMENIA

ABOUT the middle of the third century a Christian church suddenly springs up in Armenia (cf. in Vol. III. the subdivision on Western Asia up to the Kalifat). A bishop of Alexandria addresses a letter to an Armenian colleague. About the year 285 a son of the prince of the country, whom his nurse had rescued from the massacre which overwhelmed his family by flying to Cappadocia, returned to his native land, a zealous Christian. His grateful compatriots have called him "Gregory the Enlightener." King Tiridates III., whom he converted to Christianity, ordered his people to adopt the new faith and endowed the Church with rich possessions in land. Gregory took pains to form an efficient clergy. While the last Christian persecution was raging in the Roman empire, the emperor, Maximin, tried by force of arms to make Armenia once more pagan, but in vain. On the contrary, at that very time Christianity pushed on more widely towards the north.

An Armenian Christian, named Nunia, was carried away from her home by Iberians (inhabitants of the valley lying south of the Caucasus, later called Georgia and now usually Grusia). By her holy life she won all hearts; by her prayer she healed the queen. As a reward she asked for only one thing, that her God should be worshipped. King Miraus, in great danger, ventured to invoke this God. He was saved, and asked Constantine (326) for a Christian bishop. But the Iberian (or Georgian) Church remained under the influence of the Armenian until it broke away at the end of the sixth century. Christianity

spread further from here towards the Caucasus. In 520 a king of the Lazi was baptised at Constantinople. Justinian I. sent envoys to the Abasci.

The Armenian Church maintained its independence of the Roman state Church. After 366 it had a patriarch of its own, called "Catholicus." One of these, Mesrob, succeeded in inventing an Armenian alphabet and in translating the Bible into the vernacular. There followed hundreds of Christian writings by Syrian and Greek theologians, among them works which are preserved to us only in these translations. Mesrob, therefore, became the founder of an Armenian national literature, which has by no means feeble productions to show. In this way it became possible also for the Armenian Church to resist the pressure of Parsism when the land for the greater part came under the Persian rule. Cruel persecutions certainly now broke over it, but the Church did not sink. While the council of Chalcedon was held in the imperial church (cf. above, p. 208), the part of Armenia ruled by the Persians was in the midst of a storm of insurrection, which the hostility of Yezdegerd II. had roused. The Armenian Church, therefore, maintained an attitude of dissent towards the resolutions of that council. It feared the council had not blamed Nestorianism sharply enough. It was in opposition to the Persian Church, but regarded the imperial Church also as "heretical." Consequently, it became isolated; and the spirit of orthodoxy, on which it prided itself, showed no progress.

After its conquest by the crescent (651), Armenia suffered unspeakable woes from the continual wars between the kalifs and the Byzantine emperors. Then the Seljuks broke in and massacred hundreds of thousands. Still later came the Mongols. Multitudes of Armenians left their homes and founded colonies in Asia Minor, Thrace, Macedonia, Galicia, and Hungary (cf. the section *The Armenians in Europe* in Vol. V.). Then the Turks began to plunder and ravage the luckless land. Whoever could, sought peace in foreign countries. It is astonishing that in these centuries of unspeakable horrors Christianity was not extinguished, but, on the contrary, showed its ability to keep together as one people this dispersed nation, which, properly speaking, possessed a country no more.

G. CHRISTIANITY IN ABYSSINIA

ABYSSINIA, to the south of Egypt, forms the heart of Ethiopia. A Tyrian merchantman went ashore on the Abyssinian coast of Tigré in the year 316. Only two youths, Frumentius and Odesius, were left alive by the inhabitants and were sent as slaves to the royal court at Axum. After the death of the king, his widow entrusted these two strangers with the education of her son, Aeizanes. When Aeizanes became of age, Frumentius caused himself to be consecrated by Athanasius in Alexandria bishop for Ethiopia. He succeeded in baptising the king and his brother. Many of the people followed the high example. The conversion of the land was, indeed, completed by monks of Upper Egypt. In harmony with the prevailing opinion among these monks the Abyssinian Church adopted that doctrine which represents the extreme development of the Alexandrian theology, Monophysitism (cf. above, p. 208). It stood, therefore, in connection with the Coptic Church (cf. above, p. 208), and from it receives even at the present day its metropolitan ("abba"). But since the

Abyssinians are a Christian people in their own land, their importance is far greater than that of the former. Yet even the Abyssinian Church does not seem to recognise any further development of the spiritual life. The Catholic Church has repeatedly tried to "convert" it. In the year 1854 King Theodore banished the Catholic missionaries from the land, forbidding their return under the severest penalties. Protestants also have tried in our century to labour there, but without any noteworthy success.

H. CHRISTIANITY IN SOUTHERN ARABIA

IN Arabia at an early period some Bedouin tribes are said to have been baptised by Christians, with whom they came into contact in their marauding expeditions. But a church was not possible among these roaming bands. It was different in the South; here the empire of the Himjarites, or Homerites, flourished. A native of the island Diu (certainly not Socotra at the entrance of the Red Sea, but the island Diu, situated south of the Indian peninsula Gujerat) had in early youth come to Constantinople as a hostage and had there been given a Christian education. He received the name Theophilus and was consecrated "bishop of the Indians." The emperor Constantius sent him (c. 340) to the Himjarites, to obtain freedom of worship for the Christians engaged in trade there. He accomplished much. The king, Abdul Calal, became a Christian and built a church out of his own means in his capital, Dhafar; a second one in the famous seaport, Ormuz, on the Persian Gulf, and a third in Aden, where the Roman merchants landed. This new settlement had to endure the bitter hostility of the very numerous Jews there, and even suffered a bloody persecution when, at the beginning of the sixth century, a Jewish sovereign ascended the throne. But it was not until 632 that Islam annihilated all that remained of Christianity.

IV

NORTH AFRICA

By DR. HEINRICH SCHURTZ

1. THE NORTH COAST OF AFRICA

HOWEVER heavy and uniform Africa may be as compared with the richly diversified configuration of the neighbouring continents, and however difficult a natural division of the ponderous mass may be, there is *one* district easily distinguishable from the others, that strip of territory, namely, which is bounded on the south by the sand waves of the great desert, on the north by the waters of the Mediterranean. Distinctively African in many of its peculiarities, this coast region forms at the same time a part of those countries which fringe the basin of the Mediterranean with its old currents of civilisation. It is bounded on the east by the valley of the Egyptian Nile, that cradle of primitive civilisation, but on the west it is separated merely by a strait, across the narrow waters of which the eye can easily scan the opposite coast, from the Pyrenean peninsula of Europe. Of all the countries that border the Mediterranean, the African coast is comparatively the poorest, notwithstanding the fertility of many of its districts; for instead of an extensive and populous interior, there stretches behind the coast region the Sahara Desert, which is more difficult to cross than the most stormy sea, and gives to North Africa many of the peculiarities of an elongated island. The slight geographical depth of this coast land strikingly affected its history. No great, independent movement of nations starts from North Africa, and no great revolutions in the realm of thought originated there; only when foreign civilisation took root on the coast did the south shore of the Mediterranean win a transitory importance, as at the time when Carthage or Cyrene flourished. The primitive forces of the country are passive in character, and in this passivity, indeed, it rests, almost unconquerable, nor can its individuality ever be destroyed.

The North African coast, however, is not so completely one as to lead us to expect a common destiny for its whole extent. On the contrary, it is divided into two sharply defined geographical regions, an eastern and a western. In the east the coast line sinks back to the south; in the west it juts out towards the north; and while on the eastern edge the desert regions extend to the sea, in the western and projecting part there rises a country of mighty mountains with snow-covered peaks and foaming torrents and fertile valleys and well-watered plains, stretching below. From the nature of the two regions it results, therefore, that in the west tribes of agriculturists could develop into powerful nations and influence the neighbouring countries by the dissemination of new

ideas, while the east is the home of purely nomad tribes. Only at one point in the eastern coast, just where the tableland of Barca projects, like a peninsula, into the sea, lies a feeble counterpart of the western mountainous region, an agricultural district formerly the possession of the old flourishing Greek colony of Cyrene. But if the coast-line in the east as an independent country is completely at a disadvantage as compared with the west, yet it has some counterbalancing features which enhance its importance. First, it is situated nearer to the ancient civilised countries and came comparatively earlier under their influence; and, secondly, it is, owing to the deep bays that indent its coast, the favoured starting-point and terminus of the entire Sudan trade, which is again facilitated by the convenient position of numerous oases. It is no accident that the two most powerful ancient commercial cities of North Africa, Carthage and Cyrene, flourished in the vicinity of the Syrtes.

Communication with the Sudan was in ancient times probably less difficult than at present. In fact, the climatic, as well as the geographical, changes in North Africa, as far as can be determined, have been so considerable that history must take express notice of them. There is no doubt that there has been an unfavourable change in the climate. In the northern Sahara especially the calcareous deposits of dried-up springs, the traces of a formerly richer flora, but, above all, the remains of human settlements in the now completely uninhabited regions, speak only too clear a language and assure us that even the deficiency of water in the Algeria of to-day as compared with that of Roman times is not to be referred merely to the decay of artificial irrigation, but must have deeper causes. But if North Africa and, above all, the desert was once better watered and more habitable than it is to-day, then communication also with Nigrític Africa must have been easier than now; and this, notwithstanding the unfavourable circumstance that in early antiquity the camel was not known to the tribes of North Africa. The commercial position of Carthage, as of Cyrene, rested, indeed, to a great extent on intercourse with the Sudan. In Roman times this traffic appears to lessen or completely to cease; the Arabic era first roused it to fresh activity. Parallel with climatic changes there is in the course of history no lack of topographical changes: the rising of the Tunisian coast, which caused many of the famous harbours of antiquity to be silted up, is to be especially mentioned. On the other hand, the shore of the peninsula of Barca is steadily sinking.

Climatic changes, as well as the passion for hunting, have also exercised great influence on the animal life of North Africa: elephants and hippopotami, which were formerly numerous, have now disappeared. And a plant which once was of the highest importance for a part of North Africa, the famous *silphium*, which grew in the district of Cyrene, and the juice from the root of which was worth its weight of silver in ancient Rome, is no longer to be found, and has not been rediscovered even in other parts of the world. The *silphium* was one of the chief sources of the wealth of the ancient Cyreneans. As we see it represented on the coins of the town, we know that it belonged to the group of the *umbelliferae*. The writings of the ancients tell us of the manifold uses of this healing juice, which was nowhere prepared so excellently as at Cyrene. Whether the plant has been extirpated or whether it has disappeared before the change of climate, can no longer be determined.

2. THE EARLIEST OCCUPATIONS OF NORTH AFRICA

It is to be expected, as a matter of course, that the history of the nations of North Africa, a land exposed to such various influences, would not be simple and easily surveyed, and that numerous immigrations must have occurred. On the other hand, the geographical isolation of the country must have contributed towards fusing the different elements among the inhabitants into a new entity. At the present day we find in the Berbers an apparently closely related and strongly marked race, possessing the greater part of North Africa. This unity is only apparent or, more correctly, it has only been developed in the course of history. In more ancient times, too, North Africa was, in consequence of the greater fertility of the Sahara, not so isolated from the south, and especially the southeast, as at present. To-day, emigrants from the East must necessarily cross the lower Nile valley, as certainly the Arabs have done; but it is not impossible that formerly, for example, there issued streams of emigrants from the territories of the Ethiopians in the eastern Sudan, who finally reached the coast of North Africa. The existence of a prehistoric population in the Sahara is uncontestedly proved by numerous stone implements which have often been found in quite isolated and now uninhabitable spots of the desert.

The first historical accounts do not, any more than any other results of investigation, justify the assumption that before the invasion of the Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans, a homogeneous population filled North Africa. If we collect the different accounts and compare them with the conditions of the present day, we can distinguish no fewer than four old races which were permanently settled in North Africa, and their descendants, mixed with subsequent comers, maintain even now their original homes, for the most part.

A. THE LIBYANS

IN the first place, we must name the light-complexioned, fair-haired Libyans, who are often mentioned by the old geographers and historians as inhabiting both the district bordering on Egypt and the tableland of Barca and the places on Lake Triton. They exercised influence on Egypt itself. Especially at the time of the Ethiopian sovereignty we find fair-haired Libyans as dynasts in the Delta. They seem to have been a physically well-built and intellectually gifted race. Descendants of these "blonds" are found even at the present day in North Africa, especially among the Kabyls of the Rif (Morocco), in such large numbers that for a long time it was thought that the remnants of the German Vandals had been rediscovered, although, in reality, the fair-haired population of Africa existed long before the migration of the Germanic nations; indeed, before the beginning of historical tradition. Another remnant of this blond race were the Guanches in Teneriffe; the Canary Islands have, as Hans Meyer has proved, served more than once as a refuge for the population of the continent when hard pressed by newcomers; and since intercourse with the mainland was impossible, owing to the currents and the winds, they have preserved the

over whose immigration, as almost everywhere else, there is nothing definite to be said, it being sufficient that they are there. They seem fit and ready to play, in their way, an important part in the civilising of North Africa by European nations: in fact, they are the only component part of the population which knows how to conform itself externally to European ideas and to derive profit from the advantages of our culture without acknowledging its moral claims. Algiers had even then its Jewish question, and whatever power thinks to subdue Morocco will have to reckon with the Jews.

Apart from the migrations in Roman times, the stream of European blood which has been poured into the veins of the North Africans is not inconsiderable. When the Moors retreated from Spain, a large number of them settled in North Africa and gradually mixed with the natives. But the Moors had just formed in Spain a united nation out of native Iberian, Arabic, Berber, and even North European elements: they were not only in their civilisation, but also in their ethnical composition, a connecting link between the world of Islam and that of western Europe. Still more important, perhaps, was the influx of European slaves of both sexes which from the Middle Ages down to modern times had been directed into the Barbary states by the constant expeditions of the corsairs inhabiting the North African coasts, an element much more easily absorbed, owing to the Mohammedan institution of the harem. Besides this, many European renegades appear in the military history of North Africa.

If, through the capture of slaves, European blood came into Africa, still more so did Nigritic blood. That remarkable power of passively influencing and conquering neighbouring countries which is peculiar to negro races has been found in North Africa also since ancient times and has left very remarkable traces in the population. The negroes, whose own homes do not, indeed, extend far into the Sahara, do not voluntarily come to North Africa proper, but they flock in under the crack of the slave whip as despised servants of the ruling peoples. But their vital tenacity caused them to take root in the new soil; by bravery and devotion they win the confidence of the princes, they surround them as a body-guard and exert an influence on the historical development of their new home. But they proved fatal to the national life of North Africa. Every drop of Nigritic blood takes its owner farther from Europe, as well as from the civilisation of the Mediterranean countries and brings him nearer to the dull, unprogressive peoples of central Africa. At the present day, after centuries of silent immigration of the dark race, the coast of the Mediterranean is more African than it ever was in the course of its history.

The above-mentioned (p. 225) three elements of the population which, through natural conditions, are always recreated — nomads, husbandmen, and dwellers in towns — have been, as was inevitable, influenced and ethnically altered in very different ways by the advancing waves of nations. The agriculturists of the highlands, after the earliest fusion was completed, have best preserved the purity of race: these are essentially genuine Berbers and the pick of the population in western North Africa. The nomad Berber population has, on the contrary, not been able to resist the impact of the Arabs, nomads like themselves. On most pasture lands, and also in the rich agricultural districts, they were compelled to give way to the intruders. They either withdrew into the Sahara or fled to their brethren permanently settled in the highlands, so that in

North Africa proper at the present time the terms Arab and nomad almost coincide. The towns finally were the proper homes of the mixed nationalities. Foreign merchants and fugitives settled in them by preference, slaves of both sexes were collected in great numbers at the houses of the rich, the Jew built his ghetto here, and the negro his miserable quarter. Notwithstanding the hatred which the nomads and the agriculturists have for each other, they are at one in their contempt for the inhabitants of the towns.

3. THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF NORTH AFRICA

ALTHOUGH in the history of the separate countries of North Africa similar features are everywhere observable, a complete survey of their history, as a whole, is not possible. In the more remote times it is the settlements of foreign colonisers and the towns that developed out of them that demand a special description. Later, in the Roman, Vandal, and early Arabic period, North Africa becomes more of a whole, and the history of the particular districts disappears before that of the country in general; but since the Middle Ages, with the growth of the native population, local history once more predominates, until at the present time we recognise a complete severance of the connection of the different regions. These varying circumstances necessitate a varying treatment of the subject. We must, first of all, consider the history of the two colonising states, Cyrene and Carthage, with their influence on the native population. Then we must give our attention to Roman times and describe the invasion of the Arabs. Finally, considering how North Africa has been split up into separate states and possessions, we must fix our eyes on the modern development of these states. The encroachments of the European powers, above all, of Spain and France, will be briefly touched upon in conclusion.

1. CYRENE

THE Greek settlements on the peninsula of Barca deserve special notice, because they were the only important Hellenic colonies on the coast of North Africa, and because also their isolated position allowed them to develop their individuality in comparative independence. The cultivated territory of Cyrenaica, surrounded by the sea or desert regions, supported a numerous population on the products of the soil; and the favourable commercial situation, which made Cyrene a depot on the through trade-route to the most varied destinations, must have proved a source of wealth as soon as an energetic people made use of it and found out, besides, how to make the most of the natural treasures of their own territory, among which the silphium (cf. above, p. 221) must especially be named.

In the middle of the seventh century B.C. Dorian settlers had come, under the leadership of Battus, from the island of Thera (Santorin), where a civil war had caused their emigration: at first they settled on a small island in the Gulf of Bomba; six years later they settled on the mainland and founded Cyrene, the government of which Battus assumed under the title of king. It is charac-

teristic of the country that a copious spring of water, called Cyre, led to the choice of the site and gave its name to the place. The colony was subsequently strengthened by the accession of numerous Dorian Greeks from the Peloponnesus, from Crete, and other islands. The colonists were now in a position to take possession of large tracts in the peninsula of Barca — against the will of the nomad Libyans of those parts, who at last in their distress appealed to the King of Egypt for help. The new colony soon saw itself compelled to assume a hostile attitude towards the powerful and civilised state on its east frontier. Fortunately for Cyrene, disturbances in Egypt forbade the decisive invasion of a neighbouring people. But finally the Libyans themselves proved to be dangerous opponents. The tribes united and inflicted a severe defeat on the Greeks in a great battle (c. 544 B.C.). The large number of Cyreneans killed (seven thousand) and the fact that, notwithstanding all this, the vitality of the young community was not sapped, allows us to conceive how rapid the rise to prosperity of the settlement was.

Its defeat was destined to bring important results in its train. Cyrene, in search of help, turned its eyes to Greece, and was immediately swept along in that transformation of political life which was then going on in the old home. Peacefully or by force, aristocracy and tyranny were repressed in favour of democracy. Those communities were fortunate where prudent and respected men stood at the head of affairs and accomplished with moderation and fairness the revolution which had become necessary through the growing power of the lower strata of the people. In Cyrene the disastrous issue of the war furnished a reason for similar action; another impelling cause was the counsel of the oracle at Delphi, whose priesthood in earlier antiquity exercised an influence that can hardly be overestimated, and which was, in general, thoroughly beneficial on the development of Greece as a whole. The temple at Delphi always remained the heart of Greece, despite the severance of all its members. Just as the oracle had once commanded Battus to found a colony, so it now counselled the Cyreneans to summon from Mantinea the legislator Demonax, who would arrange the internal affairs of the settlement and enable it to offer a more powerful resistance to external foes. Demonax assigned equal rights to all citizens and limited the royal power of the Battian dynasty, which still was on the throne. This led to new struggles; King Arcesilaus was exiled in 530, but with the help of foreigners regained power till he was slain by the people, together with the tyrant of Barca, which had been founded before this. As he had previously submitted to the Persians, who, under Cambyses, then occupied Egypt, the Persian governor in Egypt now interfered, destroyed Barca, which, however, soon became prosperous again, and upheld the tottering monarchy. It was not until 450 that it finally broke down, and Cyrene became a republic.

Notwithstanding all these wars, Cyrene had, meantime, attained great prosperity. The fertile soil of the country, which, above all, produced the valuable silphium, afforded a secure basis for the power of the state; and the trade which was carried on, partly by land with Egypt and the Sudan, partly by sea, brought immense wealth to Cyrene, where the citizens were conspicuous among all Hellenes for their luxury, but also for their keen interest in the artistic and philosophic movements of the Greek people. The restless spirit of the Cyreneans, which manifested itself even after the fall of the monarchy in continuous

friction between the nobles and the people, may have been due to the luxurious character of the people. The power and prosperity of the town suffered for the time very little from these internal feuds. The struggle with its rising rival, Carthage, which broke out soon after the expulsion of the Battidae, did not end to the disadvantage of Cyrene. The two emporiums of trade came finally to an understanding as to the limits of their respective influence. The Cyreneans did not come into hostile relations with Alexander the Great, who appeared in Egypt in 332, since they secured their position in advance by a feigned submission. It was, indeed, fortunate for the town that, owing to their remote position, they were somewhat distant from the paths of political whirlwinds. Only faint gusts of the storm blew over them. The same advantage was enjoyed by the other and smaller town-republics which had sprung up on the coast of Barca and with Cyrene were included under the name of the Pentapolis (the five cities).

When, however, after the death of Alexander, the mighty stream of his policy of conquest divided into numerous rivulets; when everywhere his old generals raised their weapons against each other and endeavoured to break off for themselves the greatest possible portion of that enormous inheritance, Cyrenaica did not escape the eyes of the rapacious soldier-kings. As though the external danger were not enough, party struggles blazed up with fresh fury in the republics of Pentapolis; and fugitives from Cyrene summoned the assistance of the Alexandrian general, Timbron, who was then in Crete. Ptolemy, who, in the meantime, had firmly established himself in Egypt (cf. above, pp. 61 and 130), availed himself of the opportunity to interfere: Timbron was defeated, and in 322 all of Cyrenaica was obliged to recognise the suzerainty of the crafty Egyptian king.

With this the decay of the country seems to have begun. Drawn into the family disputes of the Ptolemies, the region sometimes regained its independence temporarily, but remained in essential points under Egyptian influence. Cyrene was no longer able to compete in trade with Carthage, on the one hand, and Alexandria, on the other. Even though the gigantic struggle of the Phoenician colony with the aspiring Roman empire may have brought much passing benefit, and the advantages of its *coastal* situation could never be quite lost, yet Cyrene, together with its sister towns, undoubtedly sank in importance. This decadence, recognisable in the domain of thought also, stands in a certain connection with the increasing intermixture of populations, by which the old Hellenic spirit was more and more repressed and subdued. The Jews especially, who were intentionally favoured by the Ptolemies, greatly increased in Cyrenaica in the course of time. In the later Ptolemaic period they are said to have composed almost the fourth part of the town population. To what degree the Libyan, Egyptian, and even Nigritic elements may have increased, is not, indeed, known, but may be roughly estimated from the situation and from the trading relations of Pentapolis. The intellectual culture of African Hellenism, which once had its centre in Cyrene, passed entirely to Alexandria.

The Romans, after the death of a prince of the Ptolemies, to whom Pentapolis had fallen as an independent realm, came into the possession of the territory by peaceful means. It was only loosely bound to the Roman empire (c. 95 B.C.), since Cyrenaica had long since ceased to be an important factor in international

among the slain inhabitants of Cirta were a number of Roman citizens. In reality, the war which now began concerned the security of the province of Africa, which was not only a valuable possession, on account of its natural wealth, but a corner-stone in the fabric of the Roman empire. Carthage, to her own destruction, had postponed the necessity of firmly establishing her position in Africa by a decisive war with the growing Numidian power, and had preferred to purchase with gold the wavering alliance of the nomads. The Roman senate was at first disposed to employ the same convenient method and to close its eyes to the serious gravity of the situation. But to the ambitious spirit of the Roman people the insecure state in which the Carthaginian republic had lived to the end, must have eventually seemed a disgrace. And when the sword of Rome was resolutely drawn from the sheath, the primeval dispute between husbandman and nomad was again decided in favour of the former. The so-called Jugurthine War began in the year 111, but ended for the time in a shameful peace, for Jugurtha knew how to avail himself artfully of the venality of the senatorial party and of the consul, Calpurnius Bestia, who had been sent out against him. Indeed, when the leader of the popular party, Memmius, succeeded in obtaining the summons of the Numidian king to Rome, the wily African was able to extricate himself from all difficulties, thanks to the corruption of the parties in power, which astounded the king himself. It was only when he carried his audacity to such a pitch as to cause his cousin, Massiva, who was staying in Rome, and had put himself under the protection of Roman hospitality, to be treacherously murdered, that he was forced to leave the city and prepare for a new war. The senatorial party once more conducted the war unenergetically and unskilfully. A division of the army was actually cut off by Jugurtha, and had to purchase its liberty by a shameful submission.

At last the popular party, which then embraced the more active element of the Roman people, succeeded in breaking the influence of the former leaders in the state, in enforcing the punishment of the chief offenders, and in placing incorruptible generals at the head of the army. Jugurtha, hard pressed by the consul, Metellus, succeeded in uniting temporarily the whole power of nomad North Africa against the Romans by making an alliance with his father-in-law, King Boëchus of Mauretania. The Mauretanian kingdom already existed in the time of the Second Punie War, and probably included the greater part of Morocco, while in culture it did not stand much behind Numidia, since the old Phoenician influence on the west coast of Morocco must have left some lasting traces. It must remain undecided whether the Romans would have succeeded in completely getting the better of their allied opponents, for the defeat of the two kings at Cirta by no means settled the question. But the alliance soon came to an end. Boëchus gave up his son-in-law to the Romans, who adorned their triumphal procession with him, and allowed the miserable captive to die in a subterranean dungeon. The Numidian kingdom was divided: one part was assigned to Boëchus, another joined to the Roman province, the rest was given over to two Numidian princes. There was no attempt even in later times at a complete subjugation of North Africa by the Romans. The country was always a border district of the Roman empire, and not an outpost on the through route to Nigritie Africa, whose treasures trickled scantily to the north through the dreaded desert and enticed the Romans to no trading enterprises on a grand

and aroused apparently by the fortune of their countryman, Stilicho, they moved towards the Rhine, in alliance with the Alanes they defeated the Franks on the Main and poured over Gaul, which almost without resistance fell a prey to their predatory hordes. Three years later the treachery of German frontier guards opened to them the passes of the Pyrenees, and now Spain, which, like Gaul, accepted her fate with dull resignation, learnt all the horrors of a war with barbarians and of a foreign supremacy (409). After some years of unrest the victors divided the land among themselves, though a part of it still remained Roman. Already better times seemed to be dawning for the vanquished, when the attack of the West Goths brought new disorders into Spain. A part of the Vandals were completely exterminated, the rest retreated towards the south and once more acquired considerable power there for a time. That they then began definitely to apply themselves to maritime matters and to build a fleet, is an important proof that they recognised their situation; and though we might not be inclined to form too high an opinion of their fleet, it permitted them not only to undertake predatory expeditions to the neighbouring islands and coasts, but, in case of need, to flee with their families before the onset of enemies. The perfect development of the Vandal fleet was to take place in Africa.

At the time the Vandals pressed forward to the Straits of Gibraltar, Africa, rich and almost defenceless, had already attracted the attention of the princes of the Goths; and it was mainly an accident that the Vandals anticipated them and appropriated the enticing spoil. During the momentous feud of the Roman generals, Boniface and Aetius, the former in rage had recourse to the desperate expedient of appealing to Geiserich, King of the Vandals, for help. It was gladly granted. In May, 429, the army of the Vandals landed on the African coast: according to the most trustworthy account, there were, including women, children, and old men, some eighty thousand souls. Boniface, who, meantime, had become reconciled with the Roman court, hurled himself against the invaders without avail, although he held Hippo Regius, the seat of the bishopric of Augustine, against the barbarians. After the defeat of Aetius he returned to Rome, where he died of his wounds. Hippo fell, so that in 435 almost the whole of Africa, with the exception of Carthage, the capital, was abandoned to the Vandals. Since nothing was done to ensure the security of this last and most important Roman centre, Geiserich grasped a favourable opportunity and took the town by a sudden assault, the effeminate inhabitants offering no serious resistance (439). After prolonged struggles a new treaty was concluded, which, strangely enough, conceded Mauretania and western Numidia to the Romans, while the rich east fell entirely to the Vandals (442).

In all these wars there is no trace of any serious resistance offered by the inhabitants: Boniface had defended Hippo with Gothic mercenaries, while the native population lent no appreciable assistance, and the nomad tribes of the country either adopted a dubious attitude or availed themselves of the difficulties of the Roman governor to make attacks and engage in predatory expeditions. This demoralisation resulted from social conditions, which had, perhaps, developed more unfavourably in Africa than in other parts of the Roman empire. The free peasants had long ago become the serfs of the great landed proprietors, and were little superior in position to the masses of slaves who were everywhere to be found. But the great landowners became in their turn easy victims of the

races must have been developed in a quite different and more important fashion than during the Roman and Vandal times. The growth of the Sudanese trade is, in fact, a further and most valuable result of the appearance of the Arabs in North Africa. When numerous Arab tribes scorned to settle in the corn-growing land as lords of the agricultural population, but turned as true nomads to the steppe and the desert, they brought the influence of Islam into the wide desert belt, whose natural dangers and hostile inhabitants had until now restricted all brisk commercial intercourse. Things were immediately changed when the Arabs began to act as guides for the merchants. The trading spirit of the Arabian race, which showed itself conspicuously in the first centuries after the conquest, helped to surmount all difficulties. Even the political influence of the Arabian power extended further south than that of the Roman empire; for the armies of the conquerors penetrated to the oases of Fezzan and even Kauar, that is to say, half-way to the Central Sudan. And as they then succeeded in spreading Islam in Negro land, North and South were united by a spiritual bond, and the severing tract of the Sahara formed no longer a hindrance to the streams of trade and culture.

Communication with the Sudan had, however, other results for North Africa than the accumulation of wealth; those coast towns which lay safe behind their walls and defended harbours showed often an almost republican independence in their dealings with the kalifs. For the treasures of the East and West, which the Arabian merchant forwarded to the banks of the Niger and of Lake Tehad, the Sudan offered in return gold and ostrich feathers and, above all, men, sons of Ham, destined in the eyes of believers, to be slaves. In the markets of the north coast black slaves were a staple article of sale; negro women filled the harems of the wealthy, and negro guards protected the governors of Africa and the Spanish kalifs. The result was that beneath the original population of the north coast, which, under Arabian influence, was being absorbed into a new Islamic nationality, there lay a deeper social stratum, a proletariat, which, in undertaking all hard labour, lightened the burdens of the upper classes, but influenced them unfavourably by the unavoidable mixture of blood. This applies chiefly to Morocco, when even the present ruling dynasty has a goodly proportion of Nigrifian blood in its veins, and everywhere marriages with negro women are of ordinary occurrence. This had not been the case in earlier times to at all the same extent. And as the country already possessed in the powerful Berbers an element not amenable to culture, the hampering influences on civilisation must have inevitably grown stronger with the rise of the negroes.

The enormous empire of the kalifs, to which the long range of countries on the African coast and outlying Spain were now linked, and which embraced the most varied nationalities, tinged only superficially with the Arabian spirit, carried in itself the germs of decay. In Africa the supremacy of the kalifs of Bagdad was maintained for only some hundred years. During this period the greater part of the Berber tribes were won over to Islam, but not without frequent risings, which disturbed the peace. The Berbers, who had already taken part in the conquest of Spain as the picked troops of the army, proved dangerous and obstinate opponents; and though Islam made continued progress among them, the number of the Arabs diminished to a serious extent in the constant battles. An utter defeat of the Arabs near Tangier in 740 is known as the

“Battle of the Nobles,” on account of the number of nobles and generals slain. When, on the overthrow of the Ommiads, the kalifate went to the Abbassides, Africa became temporarily independent, and was not reduced to submission until 772. In the meantime, a prince of the Ommiads house, Abd ur Rahman, made himself master of Spain, and all efforts of the Abbassides to win back the land were successfully frustrated. The loss of the African possessions was henceforth only a question of time, and depended chiefly on the fact whether, with the help of the united Arabs and Berbers, an independent dynasty, unsupported by external aid, was to be founded in these districts.

Mauretania, the present Morocco, which in early times had always been least accessible to foreign influence, owing to its outlying position and its geographical conditions, was the first to break away from the world-empire of Islam. Under the leadership of a descendant of the kalif Ali, Edris ibn Edris, the Moors succeeded in finally shaking off the yoke of the Abbassides. It is a significant fact that Berber tribes were the first to join the new rulers. Immediately the zealot trait in the Berber nature made itself known, since now, for the first time, the forcible conversion of Christians and pagans, who were still numerous in the land, was carried out. The empire of Morocco has preserved even to the present day the reputation of being a stronghold of Moslem intolerance. The town of Fez was founded in 806 as the centre of the new state, and within its walls a not unimportant civilisation was soon developed.

The rest of Africa was held only a few years longer by the Abbassides. The kalif Harun al Raschid thought he had made a good choice when he entrusted the governorship of Africa to the energetic and wise Ibrahim ebn al Aghlab; but only too soon the loyal subject was transformed into the ambitious rebel. He found but little opposition, for even the kalif made no serious effort to recover the lost province. The centre of the empire of the Aghlabites remained Kairuan. Tripoli and the greater part of the present Tunisia and Algeria formed the most valuable portion of the dominion. Tunis succeeded Carthage as a great commercial town. The Arabian possessions in Sardinia and Sicily, naturally, fell to the Aghlabites, who strengthened their position considerably by the conquest of the important town of Syracuse in 877.

The dynasty of the Aghlabites was displaced in 908 by Obeid Allah, who posed as the Mahdi promised by Mohammed. He also dislodged the Edrisites from the throne of Mauretania, and united all North Africa, with the exception of Egypt, under his rule. But Egypt, too, was lost to the Abbassides in the year 968, and fell into the power of the Fatemides. These shifted the centre of their power to Cairo, and gave their western possessions to the family of the Zeirites to hold in fee (972). The history of the Zeirites shows how at that time, just as much as in the Roman period, North Africa was filled with partially and sometimes completely independent petty states and tribal districts, and how in the hands of a brave leader an empire could be formed that might either last or break up again quickly into its component parts. The Zeirites firmly established their power in the struggle with the feudal lords of Africa, and now, although nominally they remained dependent on Cairo, completely took the place of the Fatemides. Africa remained united, outwardly at least, for nearly a century, until Morocco once more attained its independence, and began to exercise a decisive influence on the history of the surrounding countries.



B. MYCENÆ

HERE a street $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, hewn out of the cliff and supported by cyclopean rocks, passing over stone bridges pierc'd for the flow of water, led to the walls of the citadel. The entrance was the lion gate (see Fig. 2, plate at pp. 258, 259), so called on account of the two lions standing opposite one another with their forepaws resting on an altar, in the middle of which a column is erected. The upper classes of the Mycenæans, judging from pictures on vases and remains discovered in the tombs, were in the habit of wearing pointed beards and their upper lips shaved. Ornaments of gold plate with palm-leaf and lotus designs glittered upon their clothing. They carried sword or dagger, richly inlaid with metal in various patterns, the handles terminated in fantastically shaped knobs, of which one example is a dragon's head in gold with glistening eyes of cut rock-crystal. The blade of one dagger recently discovered is ornamented with a representation of lions pursuing antelopes; another shows four men, protected by shields, setting forth on a lion hunt; on a third are represented ichneumons in chase of water-fowl in a papyrus landscape. (See Fig. 7a and 7b, plate at pp. 260, 261.) Heavy gold signet-rings were also worn (see Fig. 6, same plate).

The inner walls of the houses were inlaid with precious metals and amber, as in later times were the walls of the temple of Solomon. Articles of furniture were in part covered with thin gold, as well as with plates of artificial lapis-lazuli. Amber beads have been found in the ruins, as well as a gigantic ostrich egg. Women of the nobility and ruling classes wore many gold ornaments; their upper garments were somewhat scant, the breast being partially uncovered; their hair strayed in ringlets over the forehead from beneath a low, round turban, and was allowed to fall behind in a thick braid, the end of which was turned outwards and enclosed in a spiral of gold. A diadem of thin gold ornamented the forehead. Large, golden breast-pendants, and neck-chains, earrings, bracelets, and finger-rings, and the tight-fitting garment, pleated in horizontal folds below the waist and decorated with gold, contributed to an appearance less pleasing than showy. It is hard to conceive this people as Greek, or as living upon the soil of Greece, for their civilisation was so deeply influenced by the customs and artistic genius of the East, that not only their appearance but also their manners and customs were almost wholly oriental.

C. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HEROIC (MYCENÆAN) CIVILISATION

CHARIOTS, both in battle and in hunting expeditions, were used in the same manner by the Mycenæans as by the races of Western Asia. The fallen warriors were embalmed in honey, according to the primitive Babylonian custom; their faces were covered by masks of gold, and in their hands were placed double-edged axes, exactly similar to those which we may now see pictured in Assyrian bas-reliefs.

Belief in the power and influence of the soul led at an early age to the worship of the dead. Members of royal houses, heavily laden with ornaments, were laid on the ashes of the burnt sacrifice which had been offered up

to them, in the same manner as the deceased are found to have been placed in the barrows and *tumuli* of the North. Sacrifices were offered because of the general belief in the power of the dead; and for the same reason the movable possessions of men were laid in the graves at their sides. Such sacrifices were not only made at the time of burial, but also afterwards. Above the fourth burial pit at Mycenæ a round altar, hollow in the middle, has been discovered; and through this altar, as through a tube, the blood of the sacrificed animal flowed directly down to the dead. Thus it was a permanent funeral altar, pointing to the permanent worship of souls, for the residence of which in the later sepulchres the entire chamber was designed.

The so-called dome tombs, which are evidently family sepulchres, have an approach sometimes 115 feet in length and 20 feet in breadth, consisting in part of carefully laid hewn stones. There is also a short entrance, or vestibule, with richly ornamented walls (slabs of red, green, or white marble; slender, embedded columns of dark grey alabaster, and pieces of red porphyry) and a beehive-shaped dome upwards of 50 feet in height. One of these domes is constructed of thirty-two superimposed circles, each smaller than the one below, and is ornamented with bronze rosettes, fastened with nails of bronze to blocks of bluish marble. The great development of technique is shown by the fact that in one tomb a stone weighing one hundred and twenty-two thousand kilogrammes was let into the wall for the support of the lintel of the inner door; the floor of the baths at Tiryns consisted of one stone slab, weighing twenty thousand kilogrammes.

Many treasures have been brought to light in the domed sepulchres: finger-rings (see Fig. 6, plate at pp. 260, 261), silver ladles, and bowls, swords with gold nails and gold ornaments, necklaces with richly decorated clasps (see Fig. 5 on same plate), and, finally, two golden goblets, discovered at Amyclæ (Vaphio), 3 15 inches and 3 86 inches in diameter at the top, weighing, respectively, 776 and 780.5 grammes. These cups are made of two layers of gold plate, the inner smooth, and the outer, to which the handles are attached (as in plate, Fig. 10), ornamented. The decoration is artistic, and consists of a representation of shepherds in pursuit of wild African cattle, amidst a landscape of tall palms and olive trees with knotted trunks. The shepherds are naked, except for the loin cloth and girdle with hanging ends; their feet are encased in Syrian sandals with sharp toes; their faces are smooth shaven after the Syrian fashion, and, notwithstanding an unmistakable Semitic trace, are Egyptian in cast, with prominent pupils of the eyes.

In Mycenæ the age of bronze attained its highest development — a development that could not have been reached, except through the instrumentality of a powerful centralised government. The excellence of the art and the difficulties overcome in building can but lead to the conclusion that a division of the population into classes had already taken place. Such tremendous results are attained in primitive societies possessed of but few mechanical appliances, only by the enslavement of workers through the power of a supreme ruler. Social inequality must have developed spontaneously; and, as may be seen from an examination of the numerous sepulchres of the ruling classes, not only were the princes and chieftains of higher station than the mass of the population, but there must also have been many men of lesser rank — a numerous

class of nobles who already resided in the town, and who no longer merely lived in the country upon their estates. Differences in the extent of possessions brought with them economic inequality, a condition that must even at an early time have led to inequality of rights. The possession of landed property conferred certain privileges, and these privileges led to territorial dominion. Together with the magnificence of the daily life of the nobles, the monuments and antiquities also show us the political form of a society ruled by a powerful kingship. It is possible that the earlier inhabitants, when conquered, were enslaved; at any rate, it is certain that slaves stood at the command of the sovereign and nobility, or, at least, that the majority of the population was socially far removed from the minority, and ministered to the love of ostentation and display of the latter.

Nevertheless, the Greek genius prevailed over this Oriental love of splendour. From the primitive gold masks, moulded from the features of the dead, one can recognise the Greek type: regular features, finely cut noses, and smoothly arched brows, in the very midst of an environment foreign to the Greek spirit. Even in the external forms of life, which Oriental influence had so largely pervaded, certain characteristic Greek traits survived. Although the rulers resided in palaces, built after Asiatic models, the rest of the Mycenæans lived, not under flat Asiatic roofs, but under European pitched roofs with gables. Vases of Mycenæ, the earlier ones with glossy surfaces, the later with dull surfaces, predominated in the entire basin of the Mediterranean. The early, as well as the later, Greeks made use of the fabulous animals of the East in ornamentation; but, on the other hand, their observation of the life of the sea, is truly Western: shells, starfish, corals, cuttlefish, and argonauts, drawn upon the vases, prove at what an early time the manifold life about and in the sea was observed by Mycenæan eyes. Butterflies were modelled in gold; plant life, too, was accurately observed and imitated. Designs of tendrils and leaves drawn after nature and not conventionalised appeared for the first time on Mycenæan vases. The continuous as well as the interrupted designs so familiar in friezes and put to so many decorative uses by the Greek artists, had their origin in the heroic age.

D. THE APPROXIMATE DATE OF THE HEROIC AGE

THE high plane of development indicated by the style of the Mycenæan vases was coincident with the culminating point of Mycenæan culture; and from this fact we are enabled approximately to fix the date of a civilisation that otherwise, so far as time is concerned, would remain indefinite. Some years ago the discovery in the lower city of a porcelain image of an Egyptian scarabæus, bearing the name of an Egyptian king of the fifteenth century B.C., coupled with the finding in the remains of a house in the acropolis of Mycenæ of another scarabæus, inscribed with the name of the wife of this king, tended to determine the date of Mycenæan civilisation. Nevertheless, there is still the objection that the scarabs may have been dropped there by a trader or collector at a much later period; although, strangely enough, a similar scarab, bearing an inscription written during the reign of the same king, has been found in similar Mycenæan strata on the island of Rhodes. It has also been determined that the princely

gifts which were brought to another Egyptian king by the inhabitants of "The Islands of the Great Sea" are similar in every respect to the antiquities — small, ornamented goblets, and silver cows' heads that have been found in Mycenæ. Thus the heroic civilisation must have spread over the Greecian Archipelago and, above all, over Crete. Finally, conclusive evidence has been established by the discovery of Mycenæan vases and goblets in Gurob, an Egyptian town, which was destroyed during the fifteenth century, B.C. We do not go so far as to determine the nationality of the settlers in this town from the signs scratched in various metal objects which have been found, but so much is certain they possessed the Mycenæan civilisation, and must have penetrated into Egypt as early as the fifteenth century B.C.

Antiquities and remains have borne their testimony, let us now hear what men have had to say. The utterances of Mycenæan kings are audible to us only as a faint murmur echoing in the stories of tradition: for this people had no written language, and have left to us no written records. But the historical documents discovered in Egypt speak for them. During the days of King Rameses I., warriors, whose dress was European — nay, Greek — appeared in the Syrian army; they were Javans, in other words, Javons, or Ionians, and they wore the feather plume that has served even in later times as a distinctive mark of the Asiatic Greeks. During the reigns of Menerptah and of Rameses III. there were invasions of "men from the north," as we are told by Egyptian inscriptions (cf. Vol. III.), and the weapons of these wanderers were those of the races of Europe and Asia Minor. On water and on land, in ships and in ox-carts, bringing their wives and children with them, hordes of northern peoples, against whom the native forces could only defend themselves with the greatest difficulty, burst like a storm over Egypt. The names of these peoples, Aquaivasha and Danauna, but half conceal the words Achæans and Danæans. (See above, pp. 49-50).

5. THE MIGRATIONS OF THE GRECIAN RACES

THE development of the Mycenæan civilisation must have led to a great increase in the populations of the oldest centres of culture, and have given the people occasion to embark on expeditions for the conquest of new territory. Since the coasts of Asia Minor and the islands of the Archipelago were settled by the Greeks as early as the year 1000 B.C., it follows that the earliest of these Greek settlements, those of the Æolians, must have taken place during the Heroic Age, the age of the Mycenæan civilisation. The entire process of Æolian settlement, and perhaps of a part of the Ionian, are connected with the teeming population and the high phase of culture of the heroic epoch. The many islands formed bridges, as it were, from one people to another, and joined them all together in closer union with the Asiatic mainland.

The first settlement was made by the Æolians, whose dialect was spoken in Thessalia, Bœotia, and Lesbos, and was nearly related to the languages in use in Arcadia and Cyprus. The Æolians were closely connected with those inhabitants of Attica and Eubœa who gradually detached themselves from Bœotia, and had later developed into the Ionian race of Asia Minor, where they came to forget their earlier relationship to the Bœotians. The northwestern Greeks, usually

known by the name of one stock, the Doric, included even in historic times the Epirots, Æolians, Acaernanians, the inhabitants of Phthiotis, the Phocians, Locrians, and the peoples of Achæa.

To the Æolians belonged the inhabitants of the towns of Mycenæ and Tiryns, and also the tribes that emigrated into northwest Asia Minor and Cyprus, and there engaged in long wars with the original inhabitants. The Trojan War must be looked upon to-day as a great military expedition of Greek chieftains, assisted by the princes of Mycenæ, to Asia Minor, where they burnt the city of Troy: for the sixth city upon the acropolis at Hissarlik, constructed in complete harmony with the Mycenean style of architecture and provided with flying buttresses in the same manner as the citadel at Gulás at Lake Copais, was sacked and destroyed by fire, as we have learned from Dorpfeld's excavations in 1894. Thus traditions come to life again after a lapse of thousands of years. It would be too much, however, to claim the possibility of extracting historical details from Homer: that would be equivalent to reading the minor events of the wars against Attila the Hun out of the *Nibelungenlied*.

The second group of Greek races, the Ionian, settled the greater portion of the western coast of Asia Minor, where they established large, city colonies. It was there that the Ionian stock developed its versatility, freedom of spirit, and rich and manifold interests. Composed as it was of various sections of the Greek people, it also absorbed elements from Asia Minor, and transmuted the Asiatic civilisation into Greek culture. Thus the Ionians gave a higher dignity to the old hero epics, and made the beginnings of Greek science.

Finally, the third group, the northwestern Greeks, continued to live in their northern home in single tribes, and, indeed, remained longer than any other Greek race in connection with the Italian stocks; whence the curious resemblance between Doric and Roman towns and town government observable in the three gateways and the number of functionaries. A portion of this group, the Doriens, soon settled in central Greece, then crossed the Bay of Corinth at its narrowest point, and colonised the northern portion of the Peloponnesus. As their progress was obstructed by the mountains of Arcadia, they swung off partly to the west, occupying Elis, and partly to the east, where the inhabitants of Argolis, with a highly developed but already decadent civilisation, were forced to yield to their greater vitality and superiority in arms, sinking, in a great measure, to the position of serfs, but leaving the greater part of their civilisation to the conquerors. Thus the power of the primitive inhabitants fell. Of the fortresses at Mycenæ and Tiryns, nothing but ruins remained; and not until the seventh century B.C. were temples again erected there to the worship of the gods. The wave of Dorian invasion now flowed out over Crete, Melos, Thera, Rhodes, and Cos, where faint traces of an earlier Æolian substratum are still to be recognised, forced its way as far as Pamphylia even, and finally penetrated to the south-eastern part of the Peloponnesus. Legends have adorned the Doric migration with a thousand details; not only the folk-sagas that tell us of the deeds of heroes, but also the traditions of historians who endeavoured to explain how each tribe wandered into its ultimate territory. The fact of the Doric migration is not to be disputed; but all details regarding it are worthless, and not supported by later discoveries, must be cast aside as of no historical value.

The Æolian settlers took with them to Asia Minor the remembrance of their

daring voyages, of their advance towards the East, of the centuries of battle and foray, and of their earlier domination over golden Mycenæ.

6. THE GREEK MIDDLE AGES

(THE HOMERIC ERA)

EVEN in the Homeric poems there is still an echo of the great migrations. "As on days of sunshine masses of cloud follow the mountain ridges, but seldom take their form," so have myths and legends followed the general course of history; but they have covered it over with clouds of the imagination. The traditions of wars on the soil of Asia Minor have been perpetuated in the epic poems, the sublime productions of the Greek Middle Ages; for thus we name the period that now began and lasted until the time arrived when coined money came into use.

How did these epics, which for centuries were ascribed to a certain minstrel, Homer, arise? As a rule, the speech of men flows along quietly and without method, but when the breast is shaken with emotion, when the heart is uplifted in happiness or oppressed by pain, when men are overwhelmed with an emotion of reverence for the gods, when joyful events lead to outbursts of delight, then rhythm intrudes into speech, and words are uttered in a succession of accented and unaccented syllables. Songs are transmitted from mouth to mouth; their subjects are supplied by the remembrance of great days and of great battles, they are filled with recollections of the shining forms of the heroes of olden times. At first men of high birth themselves sing in alternating verse, as did Achilles and Patroclus; and, later, with the increasing tendency to form classes in society, and with the introduction of the division of labour, a poet caste comes into being. For the most part, men who are blind take to the minstrel's art; to them the charm of combat and the glory of war are closed; and, lyre in hand, they wander from court to court, spreading abroad the fame of heroes in song. Such a minstrel was the blind Demodocus, who, in the *Odyssey*, sang to the Phœaciens; such men were the blind *Aœde* (gleeman) of Chios, who figures in the Homeric hymns; Bernlef the blind Frisian, and the blind bards of the Slavs, among whom the word "blind" (*sliepac*) became a generic name for minstrels, being also applied to men who were in full possession of their sight. In this same manner the blind singer Homer was looked upon as the author of the heroic epics.

These poems, which first came into being among the Æolians, and were inherited and enlarged by the Ionians, required hundreds of years for their growth, developing from short and simple compositions, treating of the wrath of Achilles, into vast heroic epics, celebrating the glory not only of single heroes, but also of entire races. Hundreds of minstrels, journeying from palace to palace, co-operated, and although hampered by the limitations of a set form, were, nevertheless, skilled in the art of improvisation. They delved into the life of the people and into the wealth of stored-up legends, reciting for the pleasure of the ruling nobility, adding new songs to old in honour of single families and in praise of the model aristocratic state. Thus they composed

songs which reflect the knightly lives, the philosophy, and the highest thoughts of the greatest men of their time. The pre-eminent artistic abilities of certain individuals are plainly visible, and even to-day the greater creations of particular minstrels may be separated from the mass of inferior work. The Homeric Poems had their beginnings in Mycenaean times, when they had already developed an old, never spoken, but universally understood literary language that reached its zenith in the ninth or eighth century, B.C.

The youthful strength of heroes and their resourceful wisdom, the entire scale of emotion, from the gentle stirring of sentiment in the love-dream of the young princess to the sad farewell of wife to hero, and the melancholy compassion of the victor with the aged father of his fallen enemy — all this we find in the Homeric songs. Nothing could be more touching than the lines in which Hector takes off his shining helmet to soothe the fear of his babe and bids farewell to all, or those in which Odysseus is recognised by his faithful dog. With his last breath the poor animal greets his master, wags his tail, and dies. All nature lives in these poems; the changing moods of the sea in storm and in sunshine; the fire that roars through the forest; the lightning that flashes down from heaven and shatters the strongest oak into fragments; the leaves of the forest which put forth and grow and fall before the wind, as races of men increase and wither and disappear in the storm of life; the cranes that fly through the air in compact ranks; the lion with flaming eye and lashing tail, the bird which perishes of hunger that its unledged young may eat — all this lives in the pages of Homer. The character of the human race at a time when the individual is as yet unborn and only the class exists, is drawn with the most affecting simplicity. Here are those great, restful outlines which move us so deeply in the works of the Italian masters; whether it be a knightly combat, undertaken in a spirit of chivalric daring, or the quiet, domestic life of the housewife that is represented, the imagination is free to wander whithersoever it will, and movements and actions are deprived of none of their natural and living charm.

In those parts of the Iliad which had their origin in Eolia, Achilles, the greatest of the heroes, is represented as the embodiment of impetuous strength; a composite figure, that, in truth, portrays all the unrestrained emotional changes of an uncivilised people. The art of writing was still regarded as a kind of evil enchantment, to be mastered only by the few. Not until later, at the time of the Odyssey, does the conception of a cultured society (the Phaeacians) arise; a community of harmoniously developed, serene, almost ideal beings, where woman, like man, is allowed to attain to complete intellectual development. In Odysseus, the archetype of sagacity, skilled in handicraft, in music and gymnastics, a man who excels all minstrels in harmony, and all masters in artistic narration, in whom there is a union of calm lucidity and quiet renunciation, the Greek spirit had already created the lofty conception of the free and perfect man. In later times philosophy borrowed this ideal from poetry, and developed it in masterly fashion. The problem of right living and the careful development of personality, in other words, the relation of the individual to the race has never been more wisely treated than by the Greek philosophers.

The degree of civilisation attained is clearly reflected in the various sections of the epics. An entirely different world meets us in the oldest poems, which treat

of "The Wrath of Achilles," in all probability products of the tenth century, from that pictured in the Telemachiad, which came into being as late as the seventh century. The finest portions of the *Odyssey* belong to the eighth century B.C. Tradition, religious myths, and stories that read like fairy-tales, are mingled together in ever-varying form.

The age that is described to us in the Homeric poems is no longer affected by the pomp and display of the Mycenaeans. The towering fortresses with their Cyclopean rocks have yielded to smooth walls of brick and to earthen embankments with wooden bulwarks. The interior arrangements of palaces have become greatly simplified, and of the intricate network of courts and corridors, ante-chambers, and halls, only the most necessary parts remain in the homes of Homeric kings. The walls are no longer covered with bright paintings, but with a simple coating of lime, the gaily decorated plaster floors, too, have disappeared, and their place has been taken by floors of smooth-beaten clay. Instead of burying the dead in enormous domed sepulchres — in the latest tombs the use of masks for the dead had gradually been given up — men hoped, by burning the body forever to banish the spirit. Simple graves conceal the ashes of Homeric heroes.

The despotic kingship, which plays a prominent part in the older portions of the Homeric poems, gradually declines in power, and disappears as the strength of the nobility increases. To be sure, the Homeric ruler is still a powerful, hereditary monarch, whose power came from Zeus, father of the gods, under whose care and protection he stood. The king owned property, and was supported by the tribute of the people; but his relations to his subjects are rather those of a patriarch to his clan, negotiating with foreign powers, sacrificing to the gods, and, during time of war, having the power of life and death. But advisors were always by the side of the king, and upon their decisions great weight was laid. The council of nobles became stronger with time, the upper classes were differentiated from the masses. The former were distinguished from the latter by the fact that, after chariots fell into disuse they fought on horses. The connection between large estates, aristocratic government, and knight service, is ever inseparable. In the Homeric poems the power of the nobility becomes more and more evident, until, finally, the king appears as only the first among his peers, who, like him, levy tribute, meet in council at their own initiative, and invite the king to attend. The council seems constantly to have increased in power until it finally put aside all prerogatives of the sovereign, leaving him only his name and his office of high priest. To perform the real duties of kingship, a number of high officials were chosen.

Thus the Oriental influence constantly decreased, and, naturally, the more representative rule of the nobility was less despotic. It was also the time of the fall of the Oriental monarchies, and intercourse with them became casual. In spite of this, however, it would be a great mistake to look upon the Homeric Age — the age in which the germ of elevated intellectual life first began to develop — as one in which the genuine Greek spirit was nationally personified. Oriental influence still played the chief rôle. Were we to reproduce that charming scene from the *Iliad*, of Helen and the old men at the gate, after the model of the Age of Pericles, we should absolutely destroy the picture that appeared before the mind of the poet. As the poet must have pictured it, Priam and the aged Trojans

were dressed in close-fitting garments, that extended to their feet; the folds were stiff; there was nothing loose or flowing; the red cloaks fitted smoothly over the under-garments, and were in part richly decorated in bright colours. The upper lips of the men were shaven, according to the custom of the peoples of Western Asia, they wore pointed, wedge-shaped beards, although their hair hung loose, and was no longer arranged in braids, as during Mycenaean times. Even Helen would have resembled a Greek woman but little. According to the poet, she would have been dressed in a tight-fitting, gay-coloured, intricately patterned robe, fastened by clasps and by a girdle, adorned with tassels and knots, according to the Oriental fashion. Her arms were free, the peplum, or mantle, was looser than in Mycenaean costume, covering a greater portion of the body, as more adapted to the climate of the Aegean Sea. The veil used in the Orient to conceal the countenance hung down over both cheeks, a cloth worn like a hood, and fastened in front by a glistening diadem, covered the fair-famed head.

Although the Oriental influence had decreased, it still asserted itself. The Age of Iron — weapons are no longer made of bronze — became all the poorer, because of the decline in the skill of craftsmen. Above all, the vases betray striking signs of retrogression: the place of the Mycenaean has been taken by Dipylon vases — so called from the place of their discovery, near Athens — upon which, to be sure, every possible object in life is represented, but with considerably less art; and in the border ornamental nature is no longer drawn upon, but gives way to simple geometrical designs.

Religion attained to an extraordinary development during the Homeric Age. In the epics the gods are endowed with human qualities, and were supposed to have endured all the hardships and trials of humanity. The entire pantheon of later times was, if not borrowed from, at least popularised through the medium of the epics. The Homeric minstrels made a place for even the various tutelary deities of cities in their poems, and thus contributed to the formation of the Greek mythology: and for this reason the philosophers of later times, notably Xenophanes, accused "Homer" of having created polytheism. Demigods also came into being through the epics, as a result of the poetical custom of conferring the highest rewards to heroes after death, and allowing them to approach the state of deities. The gods were worshipped by means of altars under the open sky or in temples set aside for the purpose, and they were represented in the form of men — a great advance on the fetishism of earlier times.

7. THE SECOND PERIOD OF MIGRATION

(THE AGE OF COLONISATION)

SOCIAL conditions led to a second migration of the Greek races, which took place at the time the later epics were written, from the middle of the eighth to the middle of the seventh century.

A rapid increase of population gave rise to emigration. Political dissatisfaction occasioned a centrifugal movement, and a surplus of energy led to new enterprises. Religious feeling consecrated the new settlements, and even before the habitations of the new town, located and planned under divine guidance, were